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NATIONAL REVIEW

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Rough and Tumble Among Conservative Economists
PETER P. WITONSKI

THE NEW MORALITY
A Mod Taxi Driver Explains: How to Cheat the Owner
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IS ALLENDISM HERE TO STAY? ♦ THE RICHMOND SCHOOL DECISION
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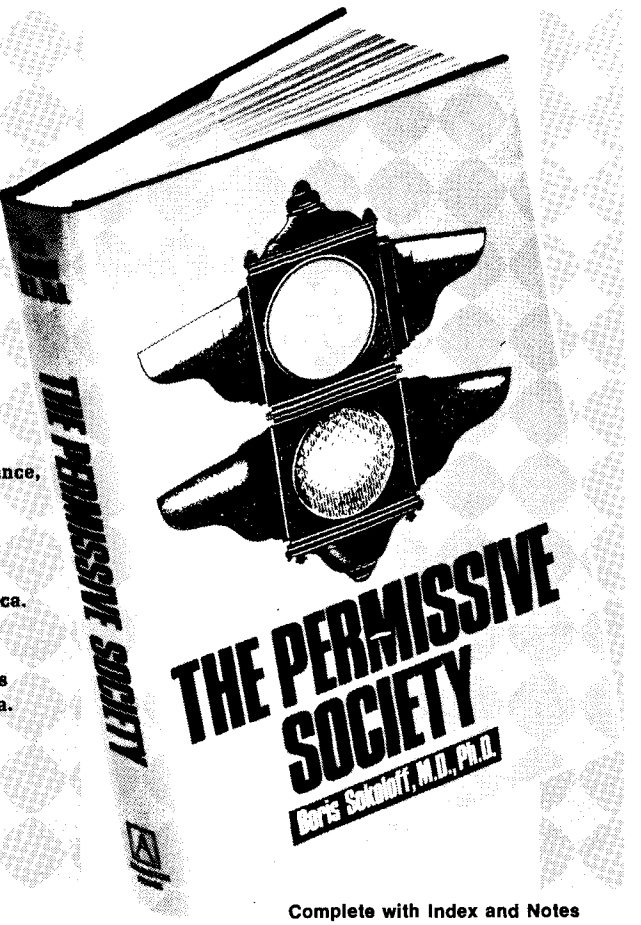

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NATIONAL REVIEW

VOL. XXIV No. 4 FEBRUARY 4, 1972

IN THIS ISSUE . . .

The news has been getting around lately that the spawn of John Maynard Keynes are not the only licensed economists. Names like Milton Friedman, Ludwig von Mises, F. A. Hayek, Yale Brozen, Israel Kirzner, Henry Hazlitt and George Stigler are being bandied about even on TV discussion programs. But a good many of those who have the names trippingly on the tongue start to stutter if you ask what doctrines go with which name. In an article based on a survey of the economists themselves as well as their published writings, **Peter P. Witonski** summarizes what they say, how they differ among themselves, and how all of them differ from the fading generation of "interventionists." . . . In spite of the horrified suspicions of one of *NR*'s staff members after working on the galleys of **Donald Hebert**'s "Apologies of a Dishonest Cab Driver," we are not presenting this thirteen-hour autobiography as a handbook for aspiring taxi drivers or a profile of Our Hero of the Week. But we believe it will make clearer to our readers, as it did to us, some important, colorful and disturbing truths about the manners, feelings and morals of the ripped-off young people drifting in the turbulent currents of our disordered cities. . . . **Robert G. Holland**, an editor of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, who did an earlier report for NATIONAL REVIEW on the Richmond, Virginia integration decisions, fills us in on Judge Merhige's latest ruling, one that many regard as important, or nearly as important, as *Brown* v. *Board of Education*.

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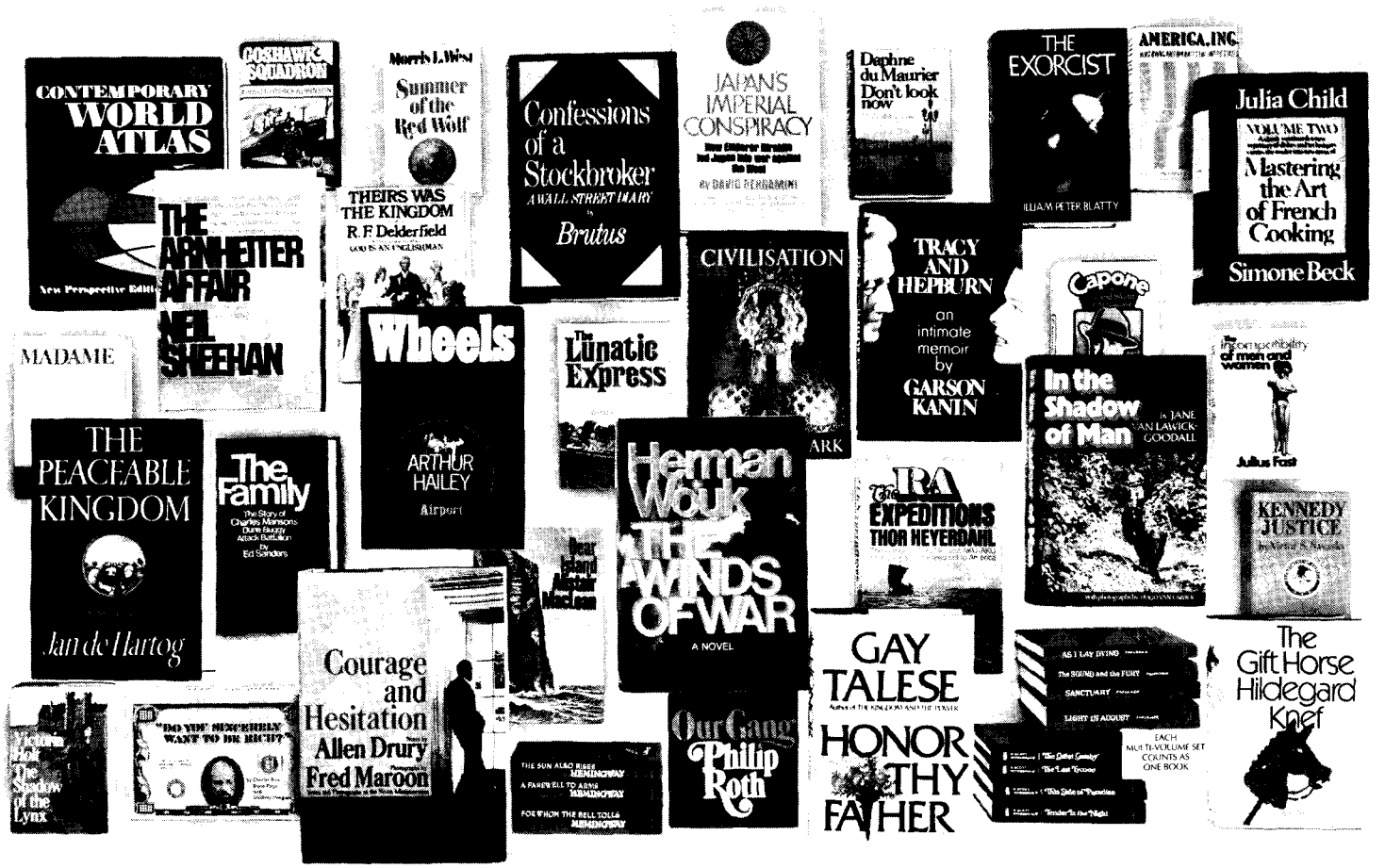
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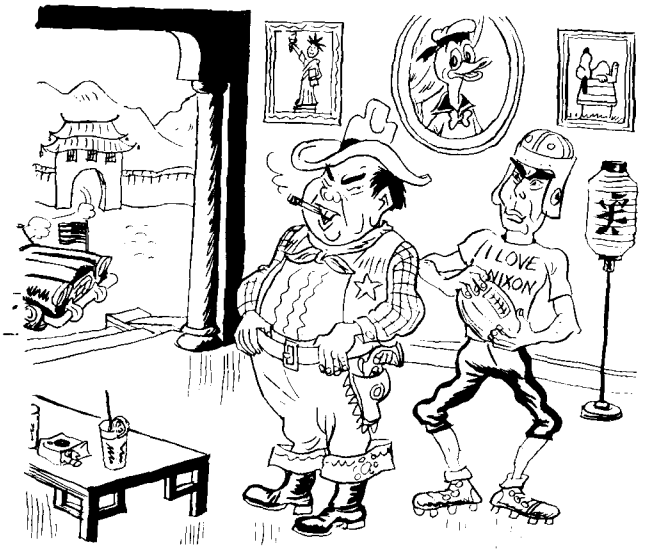
FOR THE RECORD

■ Things looking almost too good for **Edmund Muskie**. CBS poll shows him just 310 delegate votes short of first ballot win at Miami (the rundown: Muskie 1,199, Humphrey 311, Jackson 198, McGovern 164, and on down). . . . A major labor union, the **American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees**, half a million strong, has publicly endorsed him. . . . He's got the personal endorsement of **Leonard Woodcock** of United Auto Workers, although Woodcock failed to bludgeon endorsement through executive council of UAW—premature, they told him. . . . **George Meany**, who, according to **Kevin Phillips**, calls Muskie "Shmuskie" at all times, playing it coy. He's expected to land in Humphrey camp but Humphrey offended him with his on-again off-again vote on SST, which Meany favored. . . . Organized labor plans to figure big in this year's election. **AFL-CIO** is urging federation members to double their "voluntary" one buck contribution this time around—which if the blue-collars go along would mean a political kitty of $27 million. . . . **Donald Morrison**, President of the 1.1 million-member National Education Association, which has kept clear of active politics (if not of active lobbying) in the past, says it will set up a political action committee this year and collect funds from its membership to support Presidential and congressional candidates.

■ Numbers of Republicans in liberal New England who had welcomed **Paul McCloskey**'s entry in New Hampshire primary reportedly cooling off as McCloskey indicates he may end up supporting Muskie, *vide* McCloskey's statement in New York a week ago that he "and many other Republicans may be forced to leave the party" if **Nixon** follows his present Southeast Asia course. Maine Republican chairman **Charles Morehead**, an early McCloskey booster, now dismisses him as a "publicity-seeking opportunist." . . . *Human Events* reports that a Common Cause staffer, and pacifist, **Harold Willens**, has sent out a fund-appeal letter for McCloskey on Common Cause stationery.



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Preparations in Peking for the arrival of President Nixon

■ *Strength of conservative opposition* to many Nixon policies being tested by national mailing for Rep. **John Ashbrook** to a major conservative list. Ashbrook's campaign manager, incidentally, is Frank Lee; Ashbrook for President headquarters are at 909 LaSalle Bldg., 1028 Conn. Ave. N.W., Washington D.C. 20036. . . . More-in-sorrow-than-in-anger, protest from **F. Clifton White** —the mastermind of the **James Buckley** senatorial campaign—at rumor picked up by this column (Jan. 21) that he had signed on with the Nixon Presidential campaign team. Not true, says Mr. White.

■ New purge underway in **Czechoslovakia** according to reports reaching Athens, Vienna, other European capitals. Several thousand persons were arrested around Christmas and charged with anti-state activity, mostly for distributing leaflets urging Czechs not to participate in Nov. 26/27 elections. Among the victims, chess grand master **Ludek Pachman**—arrested once before after the Soviet invasion of '68—**Milan Hueble**, former proctor of the Communist Party college and **Karel Kincl**, a former radio and TV commentator: All three had supported Dubcek. . . . Deal proposed by **Aleksandr Chakovsky**, editor of the *Literaturnaya Gazeta* in Moscow to Congressman **James Scheuer**, shortly before Scheuer was booted from Soviet Union. We'll let up on our own dissident intellectuals, said Chakovsky, if you, the United States, will tone down "anti-Soviet propaganda" or Voice of America, Radio Liberty Radio Free Europe—an indication tha the Western-based stations are effectiv

■ Liberation movements: **World Peac Council** in Helsinki has declared an International Day of Solidarity with Par ama Struggle for Sovereignty over th Panama Canal Zone. . . . President **Mobutu** of Zaire (Congo) has promised to liberate Congolese pygmies "from their wild state." . . . And in Australia **Dennis Walker** has organized Black Panther Party (Aboriginal) which he says will be militant, but how militant he hasn't yet decided.

■ Historical Note for Perambulating Presidents: Until a hundred years ago the **Chinese Foreign Office** was known as the "Office of Barbarian Affairs."

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LETTERS

Davenport v. Reynolds

Alan Reynolds is surely a hard man to make peace with. In an article entitled "Unions: Scapegoat for Inflation" [Dec. 31], he again returns to his thesis that inflation is basically caused by over-issue of money, and in the process attacks businessmen and conservatives for attributing too much influence to labor unions in furthering the process. Indeed, he singles me out as a defender "of the notion of cost-push inflation."

I was not aware that in my article in *NR* ["The Open Question," Oct. 8] I had even used that much-overworked phrase. What I did argue was that if our society is to conquer inflation by traditional credit and fiscal means it will be necessary for us to reduce union monopoly power, which has the effect of shoving up costs just when the government is applying the monetary brakes. The result is a decline in profits and unacceptable unemployment, which causes the government to relax its efforts and/or to lurch into a misconceived wage-price control program.

Mr. Reynolds and I are equally opposed to such controls as wholly inimical to a market economy and the free society. Where we differ, apparently, is on the "unemployment effect" of powerful unions (and minimum wage laws). Why not a sensible accommodation? Let Mr. Reynolds and his fellow monetarists ride herd on the Federal Reserve Board. Let us benighted followers of the late great Henry Simons of the University of Chicago work toward reform of our antediluvian labor legislation. In any case, *pax nobiscum.*

New York, N.Y. JOHN DAVENPORT

Studies of broad categories of wage and budgetary data lead me to believe that union members in regulated industries, government service and licensed trades have unique monopoly power to extract an ever-growing share of national income, while most other employees thereby get less than they would otherwise. This involves a teeter-totter shift in income distribution (those going up balance those going down), but it doesn't raise aggregate costs or prices. Manufacturing unions, moreover, have generally just trended with or below the price level, when one looks at the record for several years. There are, of course, exceptions hidden within this general average.

I definitely agree that there is a union-caused "unemployment effect," because of an excess supply of job-seekers at the minimum wage (due to artificial exclusion from the unions). From about April on, when unemployment begins to hit the unions' own ranks as a result of the lagged effect of the July to December monetary stringency, I doubt that unions will be so suicidal as to press for still higher wages. This year will again provide a fascinating test of the impact of the money supply, although price controls may somewhat confuse the results. —AR

Pro McCracken

Thank you very much for printing Samuel McCracken's "A Liberal Draws the Line" [Dec. 17]. It is, alas, as easy for conservatives as for liberals to believe that, since their own theories and solutions are obviously the most realistic, anyone who advocates anything else must be evil, or stupid. By this reasoning, a conservative who claims he once discussed politics with an intelligent and reasonable liberal may be accused by other conservatives of trading his principles for a typically leftist sentimentality. I hope Mr. McCracken has proven to these people that "reasonable" and "liberal" are not mutually exclusive qualities.

Cambridge, Mass. FREDERICK ELLIOT

Defense of Samuel Popkin

In an editorial comment ["The Week," Nov. 19] you referred to Samuel Popkin, a Research Associate of this Center, as "violently anti-American" and suggested that he has argued that questioning of scholars by grand juries is a violation of academic freedom. The paragraph ends with the innuendo that you await his co-authorship of a book entitled *Stealing: The New Norm.*

I call your attention to the following facts:

1) Samuel Popkin has testified under oath before the grand jury that he had no involvement with the duplicating and distributing of the Pentagon Papers. His objections were to unlimited questioning by the prosecutor about matters *irrelevant to the issue at hand.* His argument was that such "fishing" might have an adverse effect upon society's interest in having scholars freely gather and disseminate knowledge without serving any legitimate interest in law enforcement.

2) Popkin is neither "anti-American" nor "violent." I know him to be a scholar of excellent reputation and decorum.

I deplore your printing such statements before verifying the facts. Moreover, I would ask if a journal dedicated to a free society serves its own goals by dealing with the serious and complicated matter of balancing individual and societal rights and responsibilities by false innuendos about a man's ethics and loyalties.

ROBERT R. BOWIE
Center for International Affairs
Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University

Mr. Bowie is correct. The name of Mr. Popkin was incorrectly linked, in the offending passage, with the names of his co-plaintiffs, Noam Chomsky of MIT and Richard Falk of Princeton, who are correctly classified as anti-American. The author of the paragraph had the other Popkin in mind. We apologize most sincerely to Samuel Popkin for drawing false conclusions on the basis of the company he keeps. —ED.

Who Owns Northern Ireland?

I am astounded to find readers of NATIONAL REVIEW naïve enough to believe that Northern Ireland, being "historically Irish," should be turned over to Eire ["Letters," Nov. 5, Nov. 19]. Should not Nice and Corsica, both "historically Italian," and French only in comparatively recent times, likewise be returned? What can five centuries of Turkish occupation mean to Constantinople—Greek since the dawn of recorded history? Is Lvov Polish or Ukrainian? Why is there a Belgium? And what have been the consequences of Germany's desire to regain the "historically German" territory with which it is literally surrounded?

But if these questions are historically meaningless, how *can* one decide what belongs to whom? Arguments based on history, destiny, religion or general flag-waving usually create more problems than they solve. Reasonably speaking there is *one* fair method for determining sovereignty. Simply poll those people who happen to reside in the disputed territory. This may not bring about the sacred reunification of the holy motherland, but when you stop to consider the insane consequences of everyone's trying to assert his historic right to everything, the majority-rule method doesn't really look so bad.

New York, N.Y. DAVID L. OSTFELD

Ashbrook and Nixon

A brief comment on "In Re New Hampshire" ["The Week," Dec. 31]. No doubt in due time *NR* will invite debate on the merits of Richard Nixon and actual alternatives. I intend to participate in the debate as the election nears. But recent events prompt me to insist as of now that Richard Nixon is the ablest President the Republic has known in the last forty years; also the most conservative—almost, but not quite, the same. I can hardly wait for a chance to present the argument leading to this conclusion; but I will.

New York, N.Y. ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG

I am generally pleased with your editorial

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coverage of John Ashbrook's entry into the New Hampshire primary ["In Re New Hampshire"; "The Ashbrook Candidacy," Jan. 21], but I would call to your attention the momentous statement of this eminent legislator and conservative spokesman of long standing, published in the *Congressional Record*. The following quotations from Ashbrook's statement should be stressed in a special way:

"The President has made occasional forays to the right and been free with the conservative language, but the record over all supports the celebrated dictum of liberal Senator Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania: 'We get the action, and the conservatives get the rhetoric.' "

"The truly disturbing item, however, is the President's apparent belief that he can somehow cut a deal with the rival Communist powers of Red China and Russia as is evidenced by a multitude of actions, including his scheduled summit meetings in Peking and Moscow, and the SALT talks."

" . . . U.S. licenses for export of potentially defense-related items to the Soviets increased tenfold in 1971—$1.2 billion compared to $118 million the previous year."

" . . . our China policy has undercut the effective anti-Communist forces in Asia—not only the regime of Chiang Kai-shek on Taiwan, but also the anti-Communist Sato government in Japan and in South Korea."

"One sad consequence of the Administration's policies has been the effective silencing of all but a small handful of conservative spokesmen in the Congress. . . . Senator James Buckley of New York has made a notable effort to speak out on some of the principal issues on which the White House has veered left, but at this point such efforts can hardly overcome the almost unanimous silence of other conservative leaders."

"The pervasive defeatism which afflicts the Administration, . . . as though the liberal Left were in the ascendant, . . . is unjustified. . . . Richard Nixon and George Wallace in 1968, both running on emphatically antiliberal platforms, between them secured . . . 57 per cent of the vote."

At the conclusion, Mr. Ashbrook quotes "the words of a great man," Robert A. Taft: "If you permit appeals to unity to bring an end of criticism, we endanger not only the constitutional liberties of our country, but even its future existence."

In my opinion Ashbrook's viewpoint makes sense, and I hope he will emerge as a potent political force in 1972 for the common good of our nation.

Brooklyn, N.Y. SIDNEY Z. F. RUTAR

Gavin's Confessions

William F. Gavin ["Confessions of a Street-Corner Conservative," Dec. 3] is like a surgeon skilled at cutting away fat and sick tissue while convincing the pa-

(Continues on page 117)

CONSERVATIVES ARE BIG THIS YEAR!

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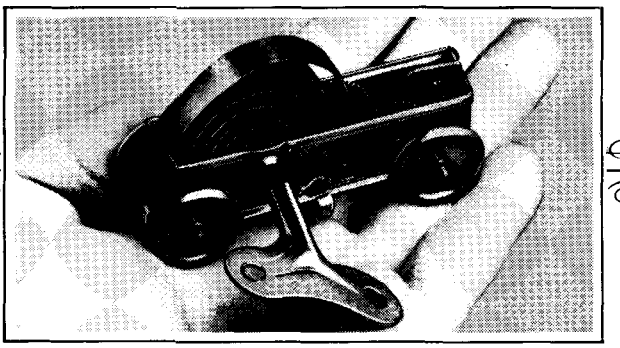

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THE WEEK

■ *Who's Hughes?*

■ Senator Mansfield's announcement that he will oppose the space shuttle promises a replay of the heated SST debate in Congress. The space shuttle will probably win this time, however, because it makes demonstrably good economic sense, and because Congress is not likely during an election year to oppose a project that will restore at least fifty thousand jobs in the depressed and resentful aerospace industry.

■ On December 30, a Los Angeles grand jury recast the two original indictments against Dr. Daniel Ellsberg—theft of government property and intentionally endangering national security—and then added ten new ones, including conspiracy, unauthorized conveyance, and receiving stolen government property vital to the national defense. In the opinion of legal scholars, the new form of the indictment makes Ellsberg's conviction much more likely, and reflects the determination of the Justice Department to penalize Ellsberg for his actions if it possibly can. The defense is expected to dispute the meaning of terms like "national security" and argue that Ellsberg, far from "intentionally endangering it," was actually trying to do the nation a good turn. The additional charges are viewed as protecting the prosecution from defeat on some technicality, and the conspiracy charge will greatly expand the area of admissible evidence.

■ *Are youse confused?*

■ *Notes on the Ashbrook campaign*: Kevin Phillips, author of *The Emerging Republican Majority*, comments in his syndicated column: "Conservative Ohio Congressman John Ashbrook is mobilizing surprising party support behind his March 7 primary challenge against President Nixon in New Hampshire. In seven of New Hampshire's ten counties, the local Ashbrook campaign is being headed by state legislators: Representatives William Boucher (Rockingham County); Elmer Johnson (Cheshire); Warren Metcalf (Coos); Elmer Akerson (Hillsboro); Richard Bradley (Grafton); George Gordon (Merrimack); and John Ineson (Stratford)." . . . Because of his announced entry in the New Hampshire primary, Ashbrook's name was automatically entered in the Florida primary that takes place a week later (March 14). Republicans in Florida are convinced he will run considerably better in their state than in New England: Even Florida GOP Chairman Tommy Thomas has predicted a 20 to 25 per cent vote, well ahead of what is expected for Paul McCloskey. . . . It turns out the ubiquitous reports of condemnation of the Ashbrook candidacy by "all prominent conservatives except William F. Buckley Jr." are considerably exaggerated. In point of fact, no prominent conservative has publicly attacked the Ashbrook move to our knowledge, although some are known to have been against it in private and may later state an open opposition. The story (reported in the Buckley syndicated column as well as in the general press) that Barry Goldwater, "asked to comment on the prospective entry in the New Hampshire primary of a Republican conservative," condemned it as a threat "to the entire party, the entire nation, the entire free world and freedom itself" was inaccurate. A letter from Senator Goldwater's office explained that "nowhere [in Goldwater's remarks] is there any mention of the word 'threat,' " that the quoted phrase was used in a speech on the importance of Nixon's re-election, delivered November 9 and later repeated by telephone to a meeting in San Antonio, without any reference whatever to Ashbrook's primary challenge, which had not yet been made or even rumored when the speech was written.

■ To Mississippi on voter-registration drives in the mid-1960s. Attended SDS conventions, 1966 and 1967; stayed in SDS when it went militant. Active in Yippies at time of Democratic National Convention in Chicago, 1968. During Chicago Seven trial, bunked in Abbie Hoffman's apartment. Active in takeover of administration building, University of Chicago, 1969. A PhD (psychology); professor describes him as "an excellent student . . . rather quiet and sedate." Another, for whom he worked on a project, remembers him as "very sensitive, a gentle human being." Eager to free "political prisoners," planted bombs in bank safety deposit vaults in San Francisco, Chicago, New York, then found perfect hiding place: U.S. Army. While on furlough, tipped press about bombs, then went AWOL. Now being sought by FBI, local police. No doubt about it, Ronald Kaufman has all the credentials. Move over, Angela.

Those Sunset Years

The British have the peerage
For duffers on the wane;
In France, to be "immortal"
Helps mitigate the pain.
A widow in the Punjab
Leaps on her hubby's pyre;
In major corporations
The fuddy-duds retire.
An Eskimo who's had it
Is simply set adrift.
But who when offered Humphrey
Would take him as a gift?

W. H. von Dreele

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■ *Whose Hughes do youse choose?*

■ If only George McGovern had backed the Dolphins, *New York Post* editor James Wechsler could have enjoyed the Super Bowl. As matters stood, he was completely frustrated. He originally had "tilted" toward the Dolphins, but had to back away when it developed that Nixon was rooting for them. Dallas, of course, was out of the question. "Tom Landry, the Dallas coach, had publicly declared himself a Nixon voter, despite the President's pro-Miami bias. A major mogul of the Dallas franchise is Clint Murchison Jr., whom some of us remember as a dedicated sponsor of the late Sen. Joe McCarthy and J. Edgar Hoover's Texas crony. And Dallas is, well, Dallas. So I approached the game in a mood bordering on neutrality, unlike my friend and cowatcher Irvin Faust, who viewed it as a clearly symbolic test of Nixon power, and who derived unmistakable, almost merciless elation from Miami's mounting misfortunes." Then there are those, we are told, who merely enjoy watching the athletes run with, kick and pass the football.

■ Darned if those Democrats aren't the best free show in town. When three thousand liberal Democrats from Massachusetts met in caucus to pick their man, McGovern won; Gene McCarthy came in way behind Shirley Chisholm, and therefore announced the meeting wasn't "a crucial confrontation." Out in Arizona John Lindsay couldn't find a ghetto, so he went to college campuses, where he turned the kids off by opposing the legalization of marijuana, and to an Indian reservation, where the tribal chairman said he was voting for Nixon. Back in Washington, Senator Vance Hartke met the press at a candlelit steak luncheon in his inner office; when newsmen asked him about the issues his campaign manager exploded: "I've never seen such a rude bunch of guys in my life! Why aren't you asking about the issues?" Hubert Humphrey appeared in public sporting bell-bottom trousers. Muskie dodged every question asked him on *Meet the Press*, and looks more dignified every day.

■ *Hughes Today, Who's Tomorrow?*

■ A series of bills proposing to reopen registration for New York's Presidential primary and to simplify still further the already very simple registration procedures has been introduced in Albany. Why? Because the Best Educated Generation in the History of the World was unable to master the "complexities of the state election law" in a month and half last summer.

■ Recently *New York Times* columnist C. L. Sulzberger wrote about Soviet successes in 1971 and their plans for '72. The successes were many: strengthened position in the Middle East and Indian Ocean; improved relations with countries on its southern border, Iran, Afghanistan and India. Things in Europe are going just as swimmingly: NATO allies giddily talking weapons freeze with the Russians while the Russians are happily strengthening their position on land and sea. For '72 more of the same—with something added. Sulzberger says Moscow is convinced the U.S. is "so divided internally that, in a crunch, it won't stand up on any major issue of foreign policy." Thus the Russians will try something, "a serious testing operation," Sulzberger calls it. The place will be the Middle East; the time, autumn, when old men's hearts turn to thoughts of 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

■ *Choose, Hughes! Which Muse?*

■ The voters of Chile have dealt the Marxist government of President Salvador Allende a stunning blow. In the race for senator from O'Higgins and Colehagua Provinces, Christian Democrat candidate Rafael Moreno won by over ten thousand votes against Héctor Olivares, Socialist candidate backed by Dr. Allende's coalition. And in Linares Province, where the government took an active role in the campaigning—four days before the election Allende's Minister of Agriculture "distributed" an aggregate area of 37,000 acres from government expropriated estates to the poorer citizens—conservative Sergio Díez of the National Party ran away with 58 per cent of the vote. Government newspapers, which had predicted sweeping government victories, were hard put to explain the outcome. Dr. Allende, who had turned the elections into a popularity contest for his socialist program and who now faces a Congress in which both houses have opposition majorities, may have second thoughts about his proposed plebiscite to transform his balky parliament into a one-chamber "People's Assembly."

■ Say, that is too bad about Ghana. And right after swivel-hips Nixon left the country. Oh, well, at least now Ghana fits in better with its African neighbors. It being the fourteenth country on that continent under direct military rule.

■ *Boos to youse, Hughes.*

■ Gus Hall is General Secretary of the Communist Party of the United States. Comrade Hall is running for President of the bad-old U.S.A. CPUSA is collecting money for Mr. Hall's campaign. CPUSA is collecting money for the defense of Angela Davis. Do you see the problem? Yes, vicious people are accusing Comrade Hall and the CP of taking money raised for the defense of Miss Davis and putting it into the Party's Presidential campaign. Dastardly. What will people say next?

■ Ralph Ginzburg. *Good* Old Ralph Ginzburg. Back when there was money to be made in smut, he published *Eros* (and got three years, of which he has yet to serve a day). Then he discovered that politics and pornography

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are not mutually exclusive, and launched *Avant Garde. Then* he smelled a good thing in the consumer movement, so he launched *Moneysworth*, which promises to be your "own personal consumer crusader, trusted stockbroker and chancellor of the exchequer . . . an authoritative Fagin school in the art and science of shrewd money management." *Moneysworth* tells its readers how to shop for ground beef, how to get a new car wholesale, how to beat the draft—everything. Regular price is $10 a year, say all the ads, but *you* may have it for only five. Somebody did some snooping, and found that the "half-price" claim is phony because just about everybody pays $5, and thus it is (chuckle!) that *Moneysworth* and (tee-hee!) Ralph Ginzburg are being investigated by the New York Attorney General's Consumer (giggle!) Frauds Bureau.

■ *No Hughes is good news.*

■ Quickly, now, who said: "Our present difficulties do not flow, I think, so much from the fact that people mistrust their government, as from the fact that the government so obviously mistrusts the people"? It has to be John Kennedy, right?, in a speech written by that master of the phony antithesis, Theodore Sorensen? Wrong. It was non-candidate Edward Kennedy, speaking in Washington on January 17, 1972. Better start watching the stores for his new book, *Silhouettes in Courage*.

■ Know Just How You Feel Dept.: The Order of the Laughing Bundestag will not be awarded this year, say the members of the West German parliament who have given out the prize in the past, because they found, after examining the Bundestag's actions in the past twelve months, "There was nothing to laugh about."

■ *Let's lose Hughes.*

■ The dreaded rice glut is advancing. Japan, which used to import the staff of Asian life, had a surplus of almost seven million tons in the past two years. India—yes, India—doesn't need to import any rice for the first time since that mountain toddled off to Mohammed. Meanwhile the countries whose economies depend on exporting rice are in a bind. The market price is about half what it was in 1969. Looks like there's only one solution: More people.

Richmond Decision

The focus of attention on school integration now shifts dramatically to the newly constituted "Nixon Court," (see Robert Holland, p. 101) and the issue becomes one of what will Justices Burger, Blackmun, Powell and Rehnquist do?

Federal District Judge Robert R. Merhige Jr. in Richmond appears to have taken a position which could variously be described as "broadly construing" *Brown* v. *the Board of Education*, or as insisting, in an absolutist spirit, that racial fusion in the classroom takes precedence over all competing considerations. The decision in any case implies a doctrine of the total subordination of local communities and jurisdictions to the central government.

Judge Merhige ordered the merger of the Richmond school district, which is 70 per cent black, with two suburban school districts, which are 90 per cent white. Some disagreement persists over the exact significance of the Judge's language. The *New York Times* thinks—at least for public consumption—that the Richmond ruling is merely an extension of the constitutional prohibition of de jure segregation: "Judge Merhige took great care to stay within the limits of the 1954 Supreme Court ruling against de jure segregation. His decision rested on carefully documented findings of a pattern reflecting the state's 'deference to local wishes' whenever the goal was to uphold segregation. For example, black children were not allowed to attend school across district lines, even when those schools were closer to the children's homes. Attendance zones had been redrawn, often resulting in long-distance busing, to avoid integration."

But careful scrutiny of the Judge's language has convinced most interpreters that the Judge's ruling strikes at racial patterns which are, in fact, innocent of segregationist intent. According to Judge Merhige, "school authorities may not constitutionally arrange an attendance zone system which serves only to reproduce in school facilities the prevalent pattern of housing segregation, be it publicly or privately enforced. To do so is only to endorse with official approval the product of private racism." In a key sentence, the Judge held that the finding of a constitutional violation does not depend upon proof of racial intent. The violation "is also inferable from the knowing pursuit of policies which cannot but produce racial separation."

If the Judge's ruling does in fact strike at all racial separation derivable from residential patterns, it would apply to schools in virtually every major city in the country—and, at the present juncture, more drastically in the North than in the South. Furthermore, if the ruling is upheld by the Supreme Court, it could well contain the seeds of constitutional crisis, for Congress has repeatedly expressed its will as opposed to busing and other steps to enforce "racial balance." The Civil Rights Act of 1964, for example, plainly states that " 'desegregation' shall not mean the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance," and it added that "nothing herein shall empower any official or court of the United States to issue any order seeking to achieve a racial balance in any school by requiring the transportation of pupils or students from one school to another or of one school district to another in order to achieve such racial balance." In other bills, on subsequent occasions in 1966, 1968, 1969 and 1970, the Congress repeated such prohibition.

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And finally, if the Nixon Court agrees with Judge Merhige, and the fall of 1972 looms as a period of massive confusion in the schools and inflamed racial resentment throughout the nation, the result in the ballot box is not difficult to foresee.

The Old School Try

It's a brand new country. It has a name and a national anthem, and lots of pride and lots of hatreds and lots of problems. Armed bands—a hundred thousand strong—roving the countryside bent on revenge and plunder and blood-letting. An economy at the best of times inadequate to take care of the 75 million people who inhabit it. Six, seven, eight—no one really knows how many—millions of refugees living across the border in India, many of them starting the hard trek back to ruined homes. Ruled in the first flush days of freedom by an interim government that spouted revenge, encouraged vigilante justice, practiced genocide. The only stability provided by an alien army of occupation. Impassable roads. Torn-up railways. Industry at a standstill. A pawn, internationally, not only in the cold war but in the intricate doctrinal battles that Moscow and Peking wage.

Bangladesh. The newest nation in the world has just welcomed home its founding father and well-beloved leader Sheik Mujibur Rahman. Nine months ago Mujibur Rahman was thrown into jail, tried by kangaroo court, nearly murdered. He was freed after Indian troops won the liberation war for the Bengalis and flown home to Dacca to take charge. But in the fortnight before he arrived on the scene, Bangladesh had gone far down the radical road. The provisional authorities could not or didn't dare or didn't want to put an end to the bloodbath the guerrillas were determined on. The provisional government had lined up with the Soviet Union, had called for instant socialism, gone out of its way to insult the United States and refuse its aid, headed down the path that the radical leaders of the Third World had taken so often before, spurned whatever aid might have been offered, announced that it was going the complete socialist way.

Then Sheik Mujib returned, a genuine hero, a man who had suffered for his country. And on the evidence of the first fortnight in office, he appears to be doing what he can to tamp down the excesses, to bring that basic order to his country which must be restored before anything can be rebuilt—before the wheels can start to turn again. He did what must be unpopular. He told the guerrillas who had been instrumental in restoring him to power that they must lay down their arms—within ten days. He told the prisoners who had been tried summarily that only those guilty of crimes will be punished and that they will be retried by legally constituted courts. He said that his country was in such straits that a certain amount of socialism would be necessary to get it going again but he refused to say whether that meant that foreign enterprises would be nationalized—although it is taken for granted that West Pakistan enterprises will be. He said he wanted his country to be nonaligned in the strategic sense—like a Switzerland, he said. And he indicated that he would be glad to take American aid, no strings attached: "I will accept anything anyone gives me to save my people."

He acted, in sum, like the authentic and responsible leader he had seemed to many observers before the crisis. Whether he can continue on that track, given the pressures on him and the almost insuperable problems he faces, will test that judgment.

Fulbright Has a Vision

Did you know that Henry Wallace in 1947 and 1948 (whose foreign policy views, expounded, you will recall, in the *Nation*, and in the 1948 Presidential campaign, were more or less indistinguishable from those of the CPUSA) was really a prophet without honor in his own country, a "brave individual," that he, well, was *right*, and that President Truman was *wrong*? If this seems a startling view, it is all the more startling when it is held by the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, none other than Senator J. William Fulbright. He has uncovered that gleaming historical truth, and he spreads it out for all to see in a long and "important" article in the January 8 *New Yorker*.

According to Fulbright, American foreign policy has been a tragedy of errors since the end of World War II. The unity of the allies, proclaimed at Yalta, mysteriously broke up, yes, mysteriously—for though Stalin's peccadillos undoubtedly played some role in this, it actually came about "for reasons still not wholly known and understood." But for all the air of uncertainty generated by this statement, it turns out that Fulbright does know who the villain really was—Henry Wallace's victorious rival, President Harry Truman. On March 12, 1947, in response to the Stalinist insurgency in Greece, Truman proclaimed the Truman Doctrine, which was a "declaration of ideological warfare." Fulbright allows Truman some mitigating circumstances: he was "new and inexperienced," his advisers gave him bad advice. But Truman is unquestionably the villain who institutionalized the cold war.

The key paragraph in Fulbright's account of these events, on which, indeed, his whole revisionist thesis rests, is worth pondering for just a moment:

> Disdaining the United Nations, the framers of the Truman Doctrine also nurtured an intense hostility toward Communism and the Soviet Union. Stalin, of course, did much to earn this hostility, with his paranoiac suspiciousness, the imposition of Soviet domination in Eastern Europe, and the use of Western Communist parties as instruments of Soviet policy. All this is well known. Less well known, far more puzzling, and also more pertinent to our position in the world today is the eagerness with

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LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

Why is Ronald Reagan staying aloof from the effort to move Nixon to the right? There are several schools of speculation.

Some Reagan admirers think he wants to go after Democratic Senator Alan Cranston's seat in 1974 and doesn't want a hostile Nixon Administration undercutting his candidacy. Reagan's strength in such a race might well be affected by the position of Nixon's more liberal California ally, Robert Finch, now mentioned as a possible gubernatorial or senatorial candidate himself.

Others believe Reagan needs Administration help to carry out in full his efforts at welfare reform. Some conservatives say Reagan is genuinely interested in setting welfare right and sees this as his most important contribution to American society. To do so, he needs White House cooperation. Current relations are good and Lyn Nofziger, a former Reagan aide, is heading Nixon's campaign in California.

A third group thinks Reagan wants to be ambassador to England. His wife is said to like the idea and the Administration has not been loath to send Reagan on reasonably important diplomatic missions, such as his recent visit to Taipei. The present U.S. Ambassador to Britain is Walter Annenberg, the prominent Philadelphia publisher and a major Republican fund-raiser, who may come home to campaign for Nixon in Pennsylvania.

■ Hubert Humphrey's lieutenants are beginning to acknowledge that his chances depend on two factors: 1) whether Muskie can be beaten in a significant primary or 2) whether Kennedy forces will help Humphrey stop Muskie. They have little control over 1), since it is probably too late for them to find a primary, even Florida, where there is a clearcut fight between Humphrey and Muskie. The second factor is one they can still influence.

The Kennedy position is not clear, though many Democrats believe that he would do a great deal to stop Muskie if he were not seen doing it. Few observers expect Kennedy to make a public appeal to stop Muskie, even on grounds similar to Eugene McCarthy's: Muskie changed position on Vietnam too late. But Kennedy can exercise a good deal of influence on certain powerful Democrats, notably Chicago Mayor Richard Daley.

Daley has little love for Hubert Humphrey, who criticized him for the mayhem at the 1968 Convention. But the Mayor retains an abiding loyalty to the Kennedys and he would be the first to join a Draft Kennedy effort at Miami. For that reason, Daley might be susceptible to Kennedy influence on behalf of Humphrey. Recently Daley has all but endorsed Muskie and has talked McGovern out of running delegate-candidates in the March 21 primary. Muskie delegates will be fielded in non-Daley areas downstate, and there will be a slate pledged to Eugene McCarthy. Daley likes to back winners, and therefore Humphrey needs massive Kennedy help with Daley if the Mayor is to be kept off the Muskie bandwagon. (Footnote: Humphrey will surprise a number of Democrats by entering the Ohio primary—where Muskie has sewn up most of the big boys including Governor John Gilligan.)

■ The impact of a George Wallace "win" in the confused Florida primary would be considerable. The situation is ideal for Wallace: Muskie, Humphrey and others will split the left-center vote and Wallace will run against Henry Jackson for the considerable Democratic Right. Wallace could knock Jackson out of the race, since some of Jackson's hopes rest on Southern support. With delegates in Florida and a big Florida vote, Wallace would be poised for a battle for some delegates from each Southern and Border State. He might well achieve his objective of a sizable convention bloc simply because of the new Democratic rules which award delegates on a piecemeal basis.

Thinking now is that Wallace will go to Miami with some delegate support from Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. A recent Muskie poll gives Wallace a 25 per cent share of the Florida vote, to second-running Humphrey's 22 per cent. The problem for the others is that Wallace's share is probably indivisible. Because primaries are not "the real thing," many voters are likely to cast a protest vote for Wallace that they might not cast in a general election.

—CATO

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which we seized upon postwar Soviet provocations and plunged into the cold war. If it be granted that Stalin started the cold war, it must also be granted that the Truman Administration seemed to welcome it.

What is revealing about this passage is the way in which Fulbright balances actual events—the imposition of Soviet rule in Eastern Europe, the use of Communist parties as Soviet instruments—with, on the U.S. side, wholly psychological hypotheses which are quite undemonstrable. Did Truman seize on Soviet provocations with "eagerness"? Did he and his advisers "welcome" the cold war? Who knows? And what difference would it make? The "provocations" were real, though Fulbright tries to push them to one side with his "of course" in the second sentence, and his dismissive "All this is well known." He then presents his psychological hypotheses —and, let us say it, *fictions*—as "more pertinent to our position in the world today."

One of the curiosities of Fulbright's rewriting of history, indeed, is the relentless and tendentious way in which he psychologizes 25 years of American policy-making. It is as if everything proceeded from some neurotic motive or other, and as if to understand history at all you had to be a shrink of some kind. "I am convinced that the real reason we squandered $20 billion or more getting men to the moon in the decade of the Sixties was our fear of something like horrible humiliation if the Russians got men there first." In this explanation we hear nothing about the military, industrial, scientific and political aspects of the space program. It all comes down to "fear."

Supposed dangers, too, were really psychological events, not the events in the external world they seemed at the time. It "even seems possible that the Cuban missile crisis of 1962 was not so enormous a crisis as it then seemed." Poof! the danger disappears. Khrushchev had no aggressive designs; he was only accommodating "pressures from his generals." If "we had not been wearing ideological blinders, if our judgment had not been clouded by fear and hostility, we might have perceived

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"THE NEWS TWISTERS" (A $7.95 VALUE)

is the blockbusting bestseller about TV news bias that has everyone across the country buzzing - you can get a FREE copy of this exciting book if you act now to subscribe to COMBAT, the exclusive newsletter that keeps you informed about all the activities of the Left.

"The News Twisters" is a hard-hitting new book that exposes the left-leaning bias of the TV networks that conservative Americans have always felt existed in the communications media. We felt that it was the perfect book to use to introduce NR readers to COMBAT, the frank and exclusive newsletter (published by NR, Inc. on the 1st and 15th of each month) that keeps you intimately informed about the New Left, the Communists, Red China (even biased TV news coverage!)—anything that poses a threat to America's security. COMBAT was first to publish the infamous Black Panther coloring book in its entirety, and, incidentally, one of the first to offer original and documented proof of TV news bias. You won't find COMBAT's news duplicated elsewhere—it is must reading for all concerned Americans. To get your copy of "The News Twisters" enter your COMBAT subscription now at no more than the regular rate of $24 per year—we'll process your subscription immediately and send you the book, all postage paid. Use the coupon below. No need to pay with order, we'll bill you later if you prefer.

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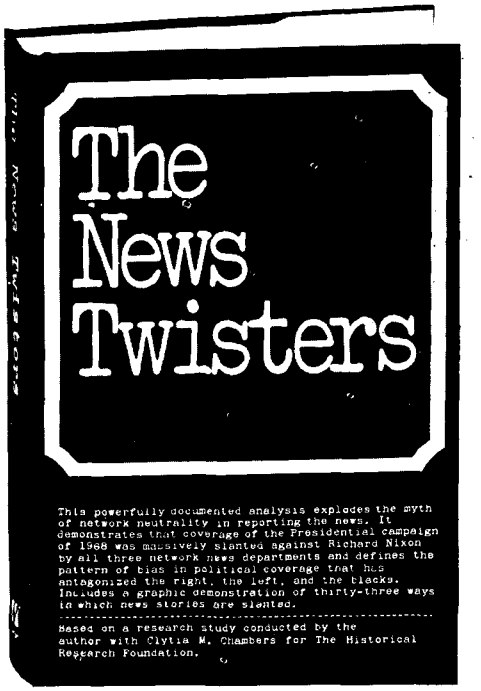
"The News Twisters" (initials T.N.T.) by national TV analyst Edith Efron is an explosive new book that spells out in black and white just how biased the TV networks actually are! This book is not just another "quickie" expose long on outrageous conclusions, but lacking in evidence to back them up. "The News Twisters" is a serious in-depth book, based on two years of careful, original research. Edith Efron shows clearly how the news coverage of the 1968 Presidential campaign was positively slanted against Richard Nixon, and proves TV's soft treatment of the left. (". . . the pro-left view is more 'forceful' than the anti-left view. An actively agreeable and/or harmless picture of the left is communicated and hard, serious warnings to the country against violent new Leftists by the Federal Bureau of Investigation are surpassed by two networks out of three.") And the book contains reports that newsmen who are opposed to the network bias are intimidated, admissions by major network figures that their newscasts are biased, plus an analysis of thirty-three techniques used to slant the news! "The News Twisters" is illustrated with easy-to-understand charts that will shock you in their documentation of bias. (Be sure to look at the "words against Nixon" charts and the "words for and against the U.S. Vietnam War Policy" chart—you will be amazed at the immensity of the bias.) This is a must-read book for everyone—especially all those Americans who have suspicions as to the impartiality of the TV networks. "The News Twisters" (which contains an extremely valuable appendix, documenting TV editorials etc., in itself well worth the price of the book) retails for $7.95, but is yours FREE and postpaid with your COMBAT order.


The News Twisters
This powerfully documented analysis explodes the myth of network neutrality in reporting the news. It demonstrates that coverage of the Presidential campaign of 1968 was massively slanted against Richard Nixon by all three network news departments and defines the pattern of bias in political coverage that has antagonized the right, the left, and the blacks. Includes a graphic demonstration of thirty-three ways in which news stories are slanted.
Based on a research study conducted by the author with Clytia M. Chambers for The Historical Research Foundation.

The results are even more scandalous than might have been anticipated. Listeners to the ABC and NBC news heard nine times as many anti-Nixon words as pro (ABC: 7,493/869); CBS, however, outdid itself: 5,300 against and 320 for. Analogous statistics turn up elsewhere. Where the bombing-halt was concerned, CBS put out 407 words for and 36 against; NBC 814 for and 147 against; ABC 904 words for and 165 against. Again and again comparable ratios turn up on the litmus issues.

Miss Efron's conclusions are irrefutable: "The networks actively opposed the Republican candidate, Richard Nixon, in his run for the Presidency . . . actively favored the Democratic candidate, Hubert Humphrey . . . largely evaded the issue of violent radicals . . . actively slanted their opinion coverage in favor of the black militants and against the white middle-class majority . . . actively slanted their opinion coverage against U.S. policy on the Vietnam war."

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in Khrushchev a world statesman with whom constructive business could be done." It might be difficult to sell that one in Budapest or some other places we might mention, but not, evidently, in New York.

Our neurotic fear of the Soviets was redoubled where the Chinese were concerned, but was just as baseless. "In much the same way that Khrushchev terrified us with his talk of 'burying' us, the Chinese sent us into a panic with their doctrine of 'wars of national liberation.'" All such talk was actually harmless humbug.

At length wearying of these profundities, Fulbright concludes with the most unalloyed set of banalities seen since the most recent book of Justice William O. Douglas. From the standpoint of prose alone, *New Yorker* editor Ted Shawn can hardly be supposed to have recovered from his reading of this article. Did we lose China? Fulbright has a sparkling rejoinder: "How can we have 'lost' a country unless it was ours to begin with?" Did our policy of non-recognition mean that we had forgotten that China existed? Apparently, if you listen to Fulbright: "We recognize at long last that there really still is a China, Communist though it may be." Clearing up widespread illusions: "Communism is not a contagious disease but a political movement and a way of organizing a society." Ah, the pleasures of listening to the reflections of a first-rate mind! And the penetrating analyses he offers of foreign leaders: "Ho, in fact, was a lifelong admirer of the American Revolution, of Lincoln, and of Wilson and his Fourteen Points."

Enough! Though his article appeared during the first week of the new year, the Senator from Arkansas has clearly won the annual William O. Douglas Award for the Public Display of Intellectual Decrepitude.

Addendum from former Under Secretary of State George Ball, Vietnam dove, writing in *Newsweek*, Jan. 10.

> In spite of an epidemic of piety—which has led many otherwise sensible Americans to a self-flagellating rejection of great-power responsibilities—the West cannot afford to lose much more strategic ground to a Soviet Union clearly in an expansionist phase. For what is worth prayerful note—at this turn of the year—is that, while we are systematically contracting our power, the Kremlin is pursuing a reverse Nixon Doctrine—establishing forward bases, deploying its rapidly expanding fleet of ships and submarines in strange waters, extending its military reach, and expanding its political presence around the world.

It Sure Beats Greek Fire

Cosmos Four-Fifty-Nine was encircling Earth
Just as Four-Sixty-Two had a fiery birth.
Though at first it appeared like a satellite race,
Number Four-Sixty-Two began moving in space.
Like a lover, it hastened to Four-Fifty-Nine
As if bent on a chorus of *Sweet Adeline*,
But 100 miles up Cosmos Four-Sixty-Two
Detonated itself in the heavenly blue,
Causing similar breakage in Four-Fifty-Nine
And a shiver or two at the base of my spine.

W. H. VON DREELE

Baseball and the Law of Compound Interest

The two most visible exemptions to the antitrust laws are labor unions and professional sports promoters. The former monopolize the supply of labor in a number of crucial industries: construction, transportation and communications, to name a few. The latter, when they are organized into such associations as the National Football League and the American Basketball Association, operate on the opposite side of the coin: They monopolize the demand for labor. But the latter, in contrast to the former, have recently renewed an argument on their side that deserves careful consideration.

In October, Curt Flood, formerly of the St. Louis Cardinals, won a hearing by the Supreme Court in his case against the promoters. He seeks to do away with baseball's reserve clause, a device that, in effect, can bind players for the entirety of their playing careers to the club which originally hired them. One of the important results of this clause is that no matter how popular a new player may become over the years, he cannot win a salary boost by getting another team to bid against the holders of his current contract, since he could join the new team only with the consent of his current employer.

The venerable Cal Griffiths, owner of the Minnesota Twins, views the possibility of a successful suit by Flood with alarm. He points out that teams with considerable financial muscle, such as the Chicago Cubs, backed by the Wrigley chewing-gum fortune, and the New York Yankees, owned by the Columbia Broadcasting System, could simply outbid other clubs for all the good players, and thus deprive the leagues of balanced competition. While Griffiths' personal stake in preventing Harmon Killebrew and his other stars from playing the club owners off against each other is clear, he does, it seems, have a valid point: Cornering the market is a lot easier if you enter the game with a stake considerably bigger than the other participants.

The formal proofs of the superiority of the unfettered marketplace rest heavily on certain key assumptions. One of these is the "equal endowment" rule: All players are conceived to enter the market with the same amount of resources. Millionaires and paupers do not exist. In the real world, however, there are millionaires and there are paupers. Even if I enter the game with just one dollar more than my competitor, and we are otherwise equally endowed, the law of compound interest will ensure that

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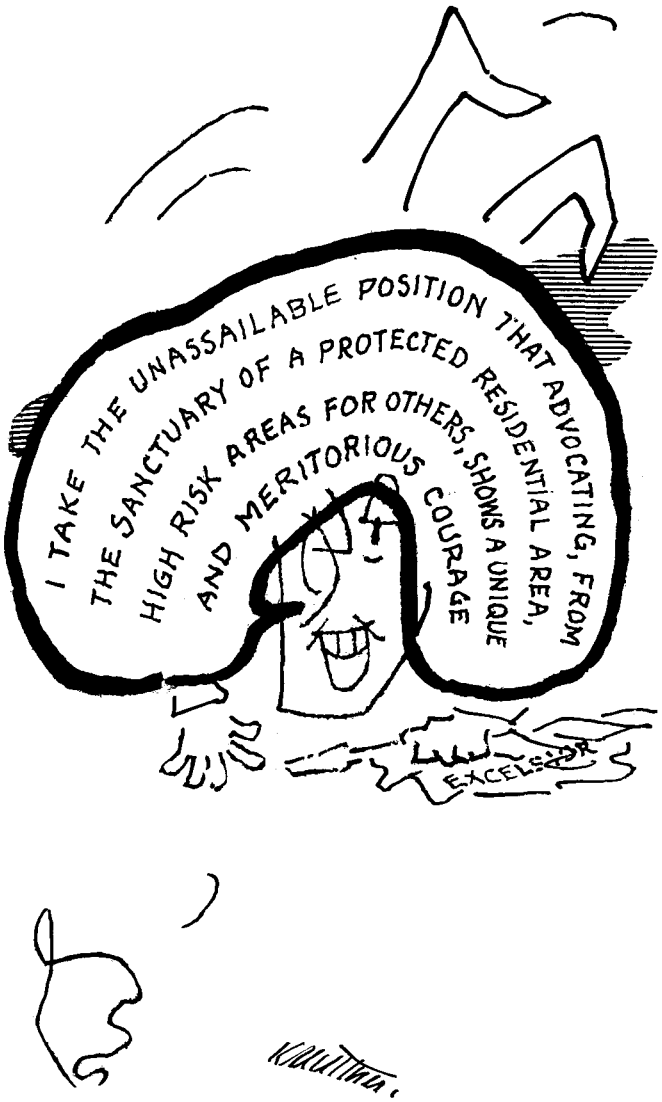
I TAKE THE UNASSAILABLE POSITION THAT ADVOCATING, FROM THE SANCTUARY OF A PROTECTED RESIDENTIAL AREA, HIGH RISK AREAS FOR OTHERS, SHOWS A UNIQUE AND MERITORIOUS COURAGE
EXCELSIOR

over a period of time I will come to dominate the opposition. This is why some find truth in the saying: "History is a series of reactions against the law of compound interest." Clearly, if sports fans didn't mind waiting ten years or so for new leagues and owners to come onto the scene, no one need be worried about a few well-heeled promoters cornering the current market. But people in general, and sports fans in particular, seem to prefer a little interference in the market now and then to an indefinitely protracted wait.

Gloria Strikes Again!

The Saigon government has undertaken a program designed to resettle residents of Quangtri province in the north, where life is dangerous, on new farmland in the south. How is the operation going?

Just wretchedly, according to Gloria Emerson, official sob-sister at the *Times*: "The refugees, many of them barefoot, stood on the shiny airstrip early yesterday morning holding clumsy bundles and shivering babies and looking fearful of the big American airplanes and the long voyage ahead. . . . The United States mission in Vietnam has been severely criticized for its relocation programs, which were often considered of little or no benefit to the Vietnamese who were forced to move." (*Times*, January 10.) On the other hand, there is this report from the *Times*' reporter Iver Peterson, also on the scene in Vietnam: "After the heartache and uncertainty of leaving home, and a short-lived epidemic of airsickness, the 1,500 pioneers of South Vietnam's most ambitious refugee resettlement project are taking over their new village and say they are eager to start a new life. . . . For the swarming families who arrived here last Thursday, Friday and Saturday, the move looks like a good deal. 'This is good land, much better than I had up there,' said Le Tiet, a fifty-year-old farmer, as he kicked the dry brown earth of the resettlement area. 'It looks like it will be good for several seasons before we'll need much fertilizer,' he said. 'Up north, in that sand, I couldn't even grow carrots.' " (*Times*, January 14.) If he grew ten crops of carrots a year on the new land, you wouldn't hear about it from Gloria.

FAP: Is It Back?

For the past several months, sources both in and close to the White House have been circulating word that President Nixon now realizes that in backing the so-called Family Assistance Plan he has been conned into buying an Edsel, but doesn't know how to cancel the deal, so deeply had he committed himself through his earlier rhetoric. In this scenario, the Svengali is none other than Daniel P. Moynihan, who, so the story goes, sold the President a bill of goods at a time of preoccupation with foreign affairs.

Whether there is any truth in all this, or whether the story is only another example of the on-going White House shell-game, we have no way of telling. Yet all forecasts for the current session of Congress give "welfare reform," i.e., FAP, prominent mention, and no signal of disavowal has been visible from the Administration. One thing, though, is certain: Passage of FAP would be a monumental blunder.

In its distant origins, FAP is related to Milton Friedman's notion of a negative income tax, a prime merit of which would be that, by automating payments, it would do away with the vast welfare bureaucracy, which absorbs a large proportion of welfare funds before they get anywhere near the poor. But as now presented to us, FAP would not do this at all. Rather it would greatly expand the cost of welfare, the numbers on the rolls and the number of bureaucrats involved.

Daniel P. Moynihan is fond of defending FAP as, essentially, a "conservative" measure. To the extent that this is a serious, rather than a completely Pickwickian, argument, it rests on the assumption that the American social fabric is so endangered that only a vast perpetual dole on the order of FAP can stave off disaster. Yet surely this is not the case. The cities are less turbulent

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than they were a few years ago—despite the added strains engendered by the temporary recession. And in the longer perspective, judging by indices such as income, education and so on, the situation of blacks and other minority groups has shown marked improvement.

Unfortunately, FAP has been passed by the House and now comes before the Senate. There it probably would be voted down, except that proponents have attached it to a politically attractive increase in Social Security benefits. If the two are voted on as a package, FAP may slip by. And if this happens, Mr. Nixon will not be able to deflect indignation to assorted Ghanaians and Tanzanians dancing around in the legislative aisles.

Make Mine on Whole Wheat

Let's see, now. Charlie the Tuna, the one "wid good taste," came in for all sorts of flak last January and February as the ecologues found the succulent fish just festering with mercury. "Mercury in Tuna Brings a Recall," and "Why Tuna Is Crossed Off the Shopping List," and "FDA Warns of Polluted Tuna," and "Ecologist Criticizes FDA for 'Dismal' Rule on Mercury," and the like, provided headlines a while back.

Eventually the guardians of our tummies decided, after bankrupting part of the tuna industry and shutting down several mercury-using factories, that we could probably eat tuna and live. But now comes the news, in two-inch fillers at the bottoms of back pages of some journals short of news of war and rapine, that "Mercury in 1909 tuna as high as in today's."

Not everybody saves old tuna, but the Smithsonian Institution has some going back to 1878, as well as some from 1909, and sure enough, the mercury range is 0.5 to 1.5 parts mercury per million, identical to that caught yesterday in California waters. Which means either that granddad should have been a thermometer or else that maybe we can have a tuna-salad sandwich and survive till cocktail hour. What ever happened to cyclamates?

Notes & Asides

■ Here, then, is how the Moving Finger wrote out the answers to the 25 prophecies you, or a good many of you at any rate, delivered a year ago (and having writ, as you will recall, nor all your Piety nor Wit Shall lure it back to cancel half a Line, Nor all your Tears wash out a Word of it):

1. No, the jury did *not* return a verdict in the trial of Angela Davis.

2. Yes, at least one of the following magazines stopped publication: *Life*, *Time*, *Look*, *McCall's*, *Holiday*, *New York*, *Ladies Home Journal*, NATIONAL REVIEW.

3. Yes, the consumer's price index rose less than 5 per cent.

4. A political kidnaping did *not* occur in the United States.

5. Muhammad Ali (Cassius Clay) *did* win his Supreme Court appeal.

6. No, President Nixon has *not* appointed a woman to his Cabinet.

7. At least two of the following have *not* died: Howard Hughes, Pablo Casals, Nikita Khrushchev, Harold Macmillan, Linus Pauling, Pope Paul VI, Marc Chagall.

8. No, Walter Cronkite has *not* retired as anchorman of CBS evening news.

9. At least one more state (in addition to Nevada) has *not* legalized gambling casinos.

10. No, Princess Margaret and Lord Snowden have *not* officially separated.

11. Bernardine Dohrn has *not* been arrested.

12. Yes, at least three of the following announced their candidacies for the 1972 Presidential nomination: Birch Bayh, Harold Hughes, Fred Harris, John W. Gardner, Henry Jackson, Ramsey Clark, Edward Kennedy, John Lindsay, Lester Maddox, Abbie Hoffman.

13. No, the Supreme Court has *not* declared capital punishment unconstitutional.

14. *No* major U.S. airline ("trunk line") has gone bankrupt.

15. Jacqueline Onassis has *not* filed for divorce.

16. Yes, not one title in the *New York Times Book Review*'s fiction best-seller list for Jan. 3, 1971 appeared in the list for Dec. 26, 1971.

17. Yes, the Baltimore Colts did finish ahead of the New York Jets in their division of the National Football League.

18. General Franco is *still* Spain's chief of state.

19. No, Ralph Nader hasn't been sued.

20. Yes, George Wallace stated publicly that he would run for President in 1972.

21. No, Yale didn't beat Harvard in football.

22. No, unemployment, as of December 1971, was *not* under 5 per cent.

23. No, Congress didn't adjourn prior to Election Day (Nov. 2).

24. False, Joe Namath *did* play football in the autumn season.

25. Yes, one of the following college football teams was undefeated in regular season play: Texas, Dartmouth, Nebraska.

Tie Breaker: The closing Dow Jones industrial average at the end of 1971 was: 890.20.

Summing up, as you would have checked the True-False column if you were gifted with total precognition: 1. F; 2. T; 3. T; 4. F; 5. T; 6. F; 7. F; 8. F; 9. F; 10. F; 11. F; 12. T; 13. F; 14. F; 15. F; 16. T; 17. T; 18. F;

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19. F; 20. T; 21. F; 22. F; 23. F; 24. F; 25. T.

■ And we now give you The Winner, 1971, and a sly fellow he (they) is (are). We had taken for granted, in our naïve way, that there was to be only one entry per contestant, but we hadn't written it down positively in the rules that there could be one only. (You may be sure we won't make *that* mistake again.) So just as the 1971 contest was closing, a panting postman staggered into the office with two huge boxes, sealed, registered and postmarked an hour under the closing wire. A sturdy colleague pried the boxes open and we found therein ten thousand Prophet of the Year entries, each under one or another of three names, presented on mimeographed versions of the printed entry form. It was A for effort without going further, but our house computer gulped twice last week and checked the whole ten thousand along with their less effusive rivals. Even with the ten thousand tries, the trio couldn't quite beat the odds (there being 33,554,432 possible sets of answers on a random basis), but one of the trio did make the top of the list, with 23 out of the 25 correct. Six hundred dollars, then, to Lawrence V. Vance, 934 Brookhaven Drive, Frankfort, Kentucky 40601, and we'll leave it to him to split the swag with his pals if that was the deal they made.

Right behind came three brilliant individualists who called 22 on the nose without benefit of machinery. Their ranking therefore is settled by their figure for the closing Dow Jones industrial average. So:

$400 to Robert A. Mahoney, 6230 N. Fairfield, Chicago, Illinois 60645.

$300 to Howard B. Mitchell, 6611-16th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20012.

$200 to M. A. Carley, 4001 Division Street, Los Angeles, Calif. 90065.

Then came four fine entries with 21, also requiring the tiebreaker to settle priorities for the final two prizes. It gave:

$100 to Ruth & Hugh Kastrud, 310 Sixth Avenue, Pelham, New York 10803. (We'll pass on a hot tip to Wall Street. Ruth & Hugh were only 0.20 off on their Dow Jones prediction. Yes, we mean 0.20: They wrote 890 and the actual year-end closing was 890.20.)

$100 to Edgar F. Oberle, 85 West 5th Street, Bayonne, New Jersey 07002.

■ There was one entry we had marked for special attention. It was sent along with the following letter, itself a notable instance of the purest scientific tradition:

Dear Sirs:

A commonly held view argues that one use of history is to avoid the mistakes of the past and set down guidelines for the future. While I am skeptical of the truth of this proposition I thought it might be interesting to find out if historians were any good at prediction. Attached to this letter you will find the collective judgment of the Denison History Department on your 1971 Prophet of the Year Contest. I hope you will be able to count our conclusions as a legitimate entry. Hopefully too events will verify our predictions so that we will not be forced to resign in embarrassment or to commit ritual suicide on the steps of the administration building.

Pour le droit (not a collective judgment)
William C. Dennis
Assistant Professor of History

The experiment now being completed, the record will show: 12 right, 13 wrong. But we will hereby suspend self-imposed sentence of resignation or suicide on condition that every member of the department read every word of NATIONAL REVIEW during 1972. You'll win the 1973 contest in a walk.

■ In the next issue you'll get the extra special 1972 Prophet of the Year Contest, and don't forget it's an election year. So sharpen your pencils. *And one entry per contestant!* —**JB**

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JAMES BURNHAM

The Protracted Conflict

OPEN HOUSE

IT WOULD SAVE a lot of trouble if all high-level White House, Pentagon and State Department get-togethers were televised live from now on. There would be no need for anyone to waste time making those extra Xerox copies, or for journalists and spies to have to bother protecting their channels of communication.

From the standpoint of national security, if I may be pardoned the expression, the Jack Anderson caper is probably more damaging than Daniel Ellsberg's. Ellsberg's Pentagon Papers were stale products of bygone Administrations, but Anderson has been serving up his goodies hot from the griddle. Their subject-matters are unfinished political and military operations. There can be no doubt that these timely tidbits not merely are "embarrassing to individuals" but are capable of affecting those operations adversely and have probably done so. In addition, they nurture resentments, suspicion and ill-will in the government apparatus, and obstruct frank communication with the officials of other governments.

The pious twaddle of the media about "the people's right to know" is not worth discussing. The media seize on these disclosures primarily to serve their raging lust for marketable sensations, and in some cases out of political motives they share with the sources. These motives are one or more of the following: 1) opposition to a specific official policy (Vietnam war, support of Pakistan . . .); 2) apparatus infighting (State *v.* Kissinger cadre, Pentagon *v.* State or CIA, etc.); 3) general opposition to the incumbent President; 4) opposition to the U.S. Government.

Private and Public

Whatever the enterprise, the people who run it have got to be able to talk problems and policies over confidentially among themselves if they are going to run it successfully. And whatever the enterprise, you don't talk the same way in private as you do in public. The union leadership doesn't announce to the press: "We demand a 25 per cent wage increase, but last night we agreed among ourselves that if necessary we'll settle for 15 per cent." A general doesn't report to the enemy command his staff's finding that his right flank is the most vulnerable spot in his line. You don't tell the neighbors everything you say in the family circle at cocktail time.

If the idea gets around that almost any discussion may go public, then everyone clams up. The boss asks for my frank opinion, but I've got to take into account how my words are going to look when they hit the papers a day or two from now. No use sticking my neck out with something too controversial, or too unpopular with the media. And the boss, too, is going to have to watch his verbal step. He'll have to be very careful telling what's really on his mind.

The question of the need and right of the head of government to have inviolate confidential relations with his aides arose at the very beginning of our history, and was confronted head on by President Washington. When the Senate, considering a treaty with France, summoned the officials who had negotiated it and questioned them concerning the preliminary White House discussions Washington ordered them to refuse to testify. Later Presidents have invariably maintained the same position. The modern media, however, do not recognize any constitutional limit on their sovereignty.

There have always been leaks, but they have never been as wide open and as reckless as they have become during the Nixon Administration. No doubt this is partly an expression of the spirit of the age—no more secrets of government just as there are no more secrets of sex; the same recklessness with national security as with life and property endangered by a bomb in a lavatory or a bank vault. But in Mr. Nixon's case there are also special factors. He is the favorite hate-object of many in the State Department bureaucracy, who will never forgive or forget his leading role in the Alger Hiss case, and of the leftist HEW-types who use him as their military-industrial bugaboo.

Moreover, the colossal bureaucracy of our era is by its nature leak-prone. In Washington's day, the President's confidential discussions with his aides meant a private chat with two or three personal friends; no stenographer or tape was making a transcript—a few notes, diary entries, or a summary uncirculated memorandum were "the record"; the few people who "had to know" would usually be told personally. Today, as Anderson's transcripts indicate, the President himself is not even present in person at the "confidential discussion." A crowd assembles under a stand-in for the President. A full record is kept, multiplied physically, and sent hither and yon to who knows how many offices and desks. It isn't much of a feat to crack the security possible under that sort of procedure.

I do not think, however, that these historical and structural factors are enough to explain fully the size and frequency of the leaks under Nixon—not so much leaks as a bursting of the dam. At least part of the cause must be Nixon himself. Nixon doesn't seem to be much good at managing the bureaucracy. He can't seem to keep the bureaucrats in line by either inspiring, cajoling, disciplining or whipping them. Nixon is the boss and the boss is in the last analysis responsible. It is incredible that the day-after-day leak to Anderson was not traced long ago to its source.

Most Secret Is No Secret

And maybe there is something, at that, to the point I started from. There is no justification for 99 per cent of governmental "classifying." Hardly anything deserves classification for more than a few years. If the classifying stamps were restricted to the sensible minimum, and if all items were automatically declassified after three years unless specifically excepted by executive order, secrecy for the modest remainder would be a lot simpler to sustain. The elimination of costs involved in current over-classification procedures would also save a couple of billion dollars yearly, though of course that's of no interest to anyone. □

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THE AUSTRIANS & CHICAGO

What do the leading conservative economists think today on such matters as deficit spending, welfarism, the negative income tax, business and union monopoly, trade quotas, big business, the works

Rough and Tumble among Conservative Economists

PETER P. WITONSKI

IN *Henry IV* (Part I, Act III, Scene I), Glendower boasts: "I can call spirits from the vasty deep." To which the pragmatic Hotspur replies: "Why, so can I; or so can any man; but will they come when you do call for them?" Glendower's illusion remains seductive, especially in an age as gullible as our own.

One need only examine the literature of economics produced over the past ten years to have this fact brought home. The "planned economy" was proclaimed as the answer to all our woes. Lord Keynes was often represented to advocate it (he even made a belated appearance on the cover of *Time* Magazine). In America we dubbed "Keynesian planning" the "New Economics," a term that would have caused more pain than amusement to the Bloomsbury sage, who was never one to suffer foolish jargon gladly. The economist-Glendowers—sometimes including such as Walter Heller and Paul Samuelson, although mostly confined to such as Leon Keyserling—seemed so sure of the shape of things to come that they overlooked facts—facts indicating that things were not always going as smoothly as they were supposed to. As one observer put it: "There seemed to be but one god in economics—state planning and interventionism in all fields—and Keynes was his prophet."

But if Keynes was the prophet of the New Economics, he was not its advocate. Indeed, he was the first man to disassociate his own views from those of the "Keynesians." His moving review of Friedrich A. Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom*, in which he lined up with the libertarians against the collectivists, is too often neglected by those who

claim to follow the path they thought he had broken in his *General Theory*. Keynes understood, better than many of his worshipers, what Edmund Burke meant when he wrote that "the people never give up their liberties but under some delusion." In this case, the delusion was that the "planned economy" could actually summon economic miracles from the vasty deep.

More than any political group in America today, conservatives have displayed a deep sense of foreboding about the plight of political and economic liberty in the years since the New Deal. In many ways the *conservation* of liberty has been the paramount concern of American conservatives—a fact that distinguishes them from their European conservative cousins, who have been all too willing to embrace one form or another of socialism. Among the institutions threatened by planners and collectivists that American conservatives seek to conserve are private property, the free market and the spirit of capitalism, cornerstones of our economic greatness.

This view has been expressed even by the most traditionalist-minded of American conservatives. As Russell Kirk has noted: "Property and freedom are inseparably connected . . . economic leveling is not economic progress. Separate property from private possession, and liberty is erased." Always at the core of conservative thinking in the field of economics is a fear of the state accumulating too much power, as has happened in several European countries. In a society dominated by the state, with state ownership, or partial ownership, of the means of production, of various services, private forms of enterprise and initiative must dwindle in proportion to the state's encroachments. "The greatest danger that today threatens civilization," José Ortega y Gasset wrote in 1922, ". . . [is] state intervention, the absorption of all spontaneous social effort by the state; that is to say, of any spontaneous historical action, which in the long run sustains, nourishes and impels human destinies."

For a very long time such libertarianism was considered old-fashioned. Capitalism, in the Twenties and Thirties, at least to the intellectuals, seemed in retreat. It was generally accepted, as Milton Friedman has remarked, that capitalism was a "defective system in-

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hibiting economic well-being and thereby freedom, and that the hope for the future lay in a greater measure of deliberate control by political authorities over economic affairs."

Albert Jay Nock, perhaps the most pessimistic of modern libertarians, painted an exceedingly bleak picture of the future, as he surveyed it from the vantage of the Roosevelt Administration. "Closer centralization; a steadily growing bureaucracy; state power increasing . . . ; the state absorbing a continually larger proportion of the national income; production languishing, the state in consequence taking over one 'essential industry' after another, managing them with ever-increasing corruption, inefficiency and prodigality, and finally resorting to a system of forced labor." Nock was not alone in his despondency. Hayek painted an equally chilling picture of the end results of democratic and undemocratic socialism in *The Road to Serfdom*.

The rise of social engineering further heightened the conservative's despair. "To some people," Michael Oakeshott, the British political philosopher, wrote, " 'government' appears as a vast reservoir of power which inspires them to dream of what use might be made of it. They have favorite projects, of various dimensions, which they sincerely believe are for the benefit of mankind, and to capture this source of power, if necessary to increase it, and to use it for imposing their favorite projects upon their fellows is what they understand as the adventure of government men. They are, thus, disposed to recognize government as an instrument of passion; the art of politics is to inflame and direct desire." The conservative, of course, has a rather different vision of just what the role of government ought and ought not to be. He does not consider the inflammation of passion to be a good thing. Rather, in Professor Oakeshott's phrase, he sees it as his job "to inject into the activities of already too passionate men an ingredient of moderation; to restrain, to deflate, to pacify, and to reconcile . . . moderation is indispensable if passionate men are to escape being locked in an encounter of mutual frustration."

Such *moderation*, as more than one conservative has discovered, has not always proved "good politics." If a politician tells us, in George Stigler's dictum, that there ought to be a governmental way where there is a governmental will—however bad the results may be for individual freedom—the average citizen tends to believe him.

With this in mind, *how* did intellectuals come to reject the defects of the planned economy and embrace the once-discredited market economy? This was the question we put to the leading economists of the so-called Austrian and Chicago (or monetary) schools: Milton Friedman, Yale Brozen, Gordon Tullock, Ernest van den Haag, Israel Kirzner and Henry Hazlitt.

Beginning of Criticism

There are as many explanations for the rejection of planning and socialism on the part of serious economists as there are explanations for the success of those ideologies in the first place. The fact that the rejection has been slow in coming is obvious, and has much to do with the weight of historical experience. It was, after all, only in recent years that whole societies managed to travel down the tortuous "road to serfdom." Those critics of socialism and planning who articulated their views in the days before Roosevelt were weakened not so much by lack of insight as by lack of factual ammunition. The appeal of socialism derived from the fact that it was an untried ideal.

In America and Europe as late as the 1930s, capitalism, with all its strengths and weaknesses, remained the dominant system. Its admitted weaknesses (all too often the results of non-libertarian practices on the part of individual capitalists and their political associates) made it easy to criticize from the Left—especially when it could be confronted with the utopianism of an untried socialist ideal. But recent years have seen a turning of the economic tables. Socialism and state planning are no longer untried ideals, they are facts; and since World War II we have had the opportunity to observe them in practice, in both the totalitarian countries of Eastern Europe and the democratic countries of Western Europe. The resulting comparison has been educational to more than one thinker, and has led Milton Friedman to ask: "Can a controlled economy work?" He answers: "Yes. And so can a horse-and-buggy."

As an example one might cite the heavily controlled economy of the so-called German Democratic Republic. It works, probably better than most totalitarian-socialist economies; but one has only to climb over the Berlin Wall to observe the far more dynamic economy of the German Federal Republic, where the free-market concepts of Professor Wilhelm Röpke and his student Ludwig Erhard helped to instigate the "economic miracle" that is modern-day West Germany. Reflecting upon this state of affairs, Röpke declared: "The history of the past fifteen years . . . is [the history] of the failure of socialist technique all along the line and the triumph of the market economy. . . . The technique of socialism—that is, economic planning, nationalization, the erosion of property, and the cradle-to-the-grave welfare state—has done great harm in our times; on the other hand we have the irrefutable testimony of the past fifteen years, particularly in Germany, that the opposite—the libertarian—technique of the market economy opens the way to well-being, freedom, the rule of law, the distribution of power and international cooperation."

Even under so-called democratic or "mixed" socialism, such as is practiced in Britain and Scandinavia, the results of the controlled economy have been dispiriting. The Scottish journalist Colm Brogan has summed up contemporary Britain as "the pocket-money state," because even under Britain's benevolent socialism, the private citizen is so heavily taxed for supposedly "good ends" that he is left with little more than pocket money to play with. The history of economic planning in Britain since World War II is one of broken and unfulfilled promises—of spirits failing to emerge from the "vasty deep." It provides Americans, disturbed about recent economic trends in our country, with a painful series of adumbrations of the direction of the American economy. The history of postwar Britain goes a long way toward explaining why more and more thinking people are opting for capitalism and freedom as opposed to socialism. ". . . I believe," wrote John Jewkes, "that the recent melancholy decline of Great Britain is largely of our own making. The fall in our standard of living to a level which excites the pity and evokes the charity of many other richer countries, the progressive restrictions on individual liberties, the ever-widening destruction of respect for law, the steady sapping of our instincts for tolerance and compromise, the

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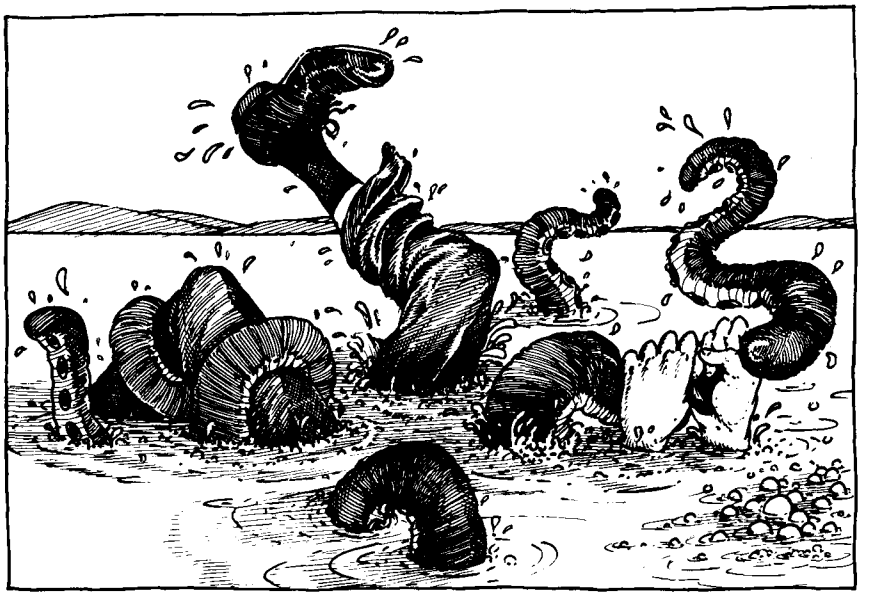
sharpening of class distinctions, our growing incapacity to play a rightful part in world affairs—these sad changes are not due to something that happened in the remote past. . . . At the root of our troubles lies the fallacy that the best way of ordering economic affairs is to place the responsibility for all critical decisions in the hands of the state."

The situation has gotten to be so serious that even the most zealous of socialists nowadays cringes at the mention of the word socialism. During the last Labor Government in Britain the ideas of Tawney were rejected in favor of those of Friedman by leading Labor Party theoreticians. R. H. S. Crossman, editor of the *New Statesman*, and a former Labor cabinet minister, has even voiced second thoughts about what "once seemed the obvious advantages of central planning and the extension of state ownership." In Britain, Crossman explained, socialism "meant the establishment of vast bureaucratic corporations . . . vast centralized state bureaucracy [constituting] . . . a grave potential threat to democracy . . ."



The end result of all this, as Hayek has rightly noted, has been the end of the kind of socialism—nineteenth-century socialism—that reached its high-water mark after World War II in Britain. Few serious thinkers actually advocate rigid socialism any longer—either in its Marxist or Fabian forms, as both have been discredited by events. What has developed in its place is a vague and imprecise style of economic planning that seems to mean all things to all men. In America we call it liberalism; in Germany it is called social democracy; in Britain it is laborism. Its theorists also give it different names: The simplicists call it Keynesian; the journalists call it the New Economics; conservatives see it as a new absolutism, far subtler, potentially far more dangerous to individual prosperity and freedom than vulgar old socialism. Whatever the case, the planned economy remains a potent force in modern society. But it is no longer an untried ideal, and hence it is open to the criticism of thoughtful economists. The new planners, like the old socialists, all suffer from Glendower's delusion.

Anti-Monetarists

There appear to be three fundamental approaches to political economy these days. There is, first, the interventionist approach, already discussed. The other two schools are most commonly associated with conservatism in America. There is, first, the classically libertarian school, which places great emphasis on the market mechanism, and which follows the path first trod by Adam Smith. This school, once closely linked with nineteenth-century liberalism, is today associated with such men as Milton Friedman, George Stigler, Arthur Burns and a host of professional economists. Then there is the school which holds that the free market is a great and desirable goal to aspire to, but one that is politically and socially impractical. It is necessary, according to this thinking, to intervene on occasion with the workings of the market, with protective tariffs and similar devices, in order to serve the common good. The degree to which this intervention influences the workings of the economy will indicate the degree to which the interventionists value the role of the market itself. This third view is defended by few economists but held by many practical men who regard themselves as conservatives.

Conservative economics, as practiced in America today, can be traced back to late eighteenth-century libertarianism. But its most immediate, and therefore pervasive, influences are more modern. All our contributors have to one degree or another been influenced by the so-called Austrian and Chicago schools of economic thought.

The two movements are, in fact, not so very different. They agree on the fundamental proposition that the free market is the most efficient system for the fulfillment of consumer desires. They may differ, though, in emphasis on such things as the role of the money supply, or more abstractly on the metaphysics of freedom. As a rule, the Austrians tend to be more philosophical, more ideological, than the Chicagoans, who are more pragmatic in their outlook. To the Austrian, the free market takes on all sorts of libertarian functions, which may be ontological as well as economic; to the Chicagoan, it is simply the tool which can most easily insure freedom and prosperity, which he would be quite willing to abandon should some more efficient "tool" come his way—except that he can't find one and knows that none exists.

Conceptually speaking the Austrian school is little different today from what it was in 1871, when Karl Menger produced his classic *Principles of Political Economy*. Its most significant original thinkers remain Eugen von Böhm-Bawerk and Friedrich von Wieser, two writers not much read any longer. In America, the advocates of Austrianism are Ludwig von Mises and F. A. Hayek. The Chicagoans have been in the vanguard of contemporary economic thought, and, while their conclusions may prove less philosophically rewarding to the general reader than the Austrians, their actual contributions to economic analysis have caused them to be the more influential wing of contemporary conservative economic philosophy. →

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The post-Keynesian fiscal economists call for the use of government funds created by deficit financing to increase total spending and thereby eliminate unemployment and increase production. The Chicago economists, in contrast, advocate "monetary" rather than "fiscal" measures: They believe that the level of expenditure—and thus of production and employment—is best influenced by monetary policy, by increasing (or, if need be, decreasing) the credit extended to banks by the Federal Reserve Bank, and thereby the volume of monetary circulation. To the Chicagoans increased government spending may among other things lead to reduced freedom; and besides, it just doesn't work that well.

Most Austrians differ with the Chicagoan emphasis on monetary economics. In an interview with a member of the *NR* editorial staff, Professor Eric Streissler of the University of Vienna, one of the leading younger members of the Austrian school, was highly critical of the monetary teachings of the Chicago school, arguing that there are other factors besides the quantity of money which go into the dynamics of any given economy. In this Streissler is in agreement with most contemporary liberal economists, who believe that the money supply affects consumer and business spending only indirectly through its not terribly significant influence on the availability of borrowed funds; and it is this indirect channel, rather than the general supply of money in the economy, that provides whatever impact monetary policy has on total spending, employment and prices. Such is the essence of the anti-monetarist critique, both conservative and liberal.

Fiscal and Monetary

Milton Friedman of the University of Chicago argues for the establishment of a legislated rule instructing the Federal Reserve to achieve a specified rate of growth in the stock of money. "I would specify," he writes, "that the Reserve system shall see to it that the total stock of money . . . rises month by month, and indeed, so far as possible, day by day, at a annual rate of *x* per cent, where *x* is some number between three and five. The precise definition of money adopted . . . makes far less difference than the definite choice of a particular rate of growth." Such a rule, he argues, would be the best means currently available "for converting monetary policy into a pillar of a free society . . ." Thus Friedman combines his belief in the importance of credit regulation with his wish for an expanding economy without depression and with his wish to deprive the Federal Reserve Board of arbitrary power which, in his opinion, has caused more mischief than it has cured.

Indeed, monetary policy is today the area most closely linked with conservative economics, and so the editors of *NR* were naturally interested in the reactions of those contributing to our survey in this area, especially insofar as they might differ with the prevailing Chicago view. The Austrians questioned revealed the extent of their intellectual debt to the various Chicago economists. Henry Hazlitt, probably the most widely read writer in the Austrian tradition, accepts the fact that the government has a clear function in the monetary field. However he believes that the government should eventually return to the gold standard (a position he shares with many Soviet and South African economists, i.e., economists from gold producing countries, but also with such well-known European conservatives as Jacques Rueff), and that the Federal Reserve system should "either be eventually abolished or at least greatly restricted in its present discretionary powers."

Israel Kirzner, of New York University, a leading follower of the Mises wing of Austrianism in America, took an even more fundamentalist libertarian position on the subject of monetary policy. In Kirzner's view, money is something that emerges "quite spontaneously" from the free market itself. *Nothing*, according to Kirzner, justifies the government's use of its assigned power in frustrating this spontaneously developed system by "inflating the supply of money." "There seems little doubt," he concludes "that the misuse of governmental power over money has again and again been responsible for serious economic instability." He opposes the "dubious" arguments used by the advocates of a steady expansion of the money supply as nothing more than another form of government control.

The least ideological of our contributors, the New York University social scientist Ernest van den Haag, takes a position that could best be described as right-wing Keynesian, arguing for fiscal policies sufficient to insure full employment and a productive economy, whenever monetary policies (which he envisages as Friedman does) do not achieve that goal, or when there are specific merits in the fiscal policy—e.g., tax reduction to stimulate business and consumer demand.

Friedman's position is echoed by his University of Chicago colleague, Yale Brozen, who calls for the Federal Reserve Board (and the Open Market Committee) to maintain a "stable rate of growth in the money stock . . . of 3 per cent per year." Any time the daily average stock of money during one month shows an increase over the same month in the preceding year of more than 3.5 per cent or less than 2.5 per cent, the Federal Reserve Board "should be required to report to a relevant committee of Congress as to why it has allowed this departure to occur and what it plans to do to bring the rate of increase into line within these limits." Unlike most Austrians, most Chicagoans (as Gordon Tullock reminds us) favor abandoning the gold standard, and advocate a fiat money—what George Stigler has called "the gilded brick standard."

The subtle division between the Austrians and Chicagoans ranged to other economic issues. A good example is the area of welfare and Social Security. Here, as in other fields, the views of Milton Friedman have been most widely publicized and have caused the greatest controversy. Friedman favors replacing our present system of relief and aid to the poor with a negative income tax. Friedman would, while keeping present commitments, make Social Security voluntary. He would dismantle the present welfare and Social Security system, because it imposes "burdens on the poor" and benefits special interest groups. These include agricultural price-support programs, which he has called "a free-lunch program for rats and mice," public housing, urban renewal and "most of the items in the so-called 'war on poverty.' "

He has been opposed, especially on the subject of a negative income tax, by Henry Hazlitt, who believes, even more strongly than Friedman, that the free-enterprise system, working without restraints, is the best answer to the poverty that plagues certain sectors of our economy. "All mass schemes to equalize or redistribute wealth and income by steeply graduated or confiscatory taxation, handouts, by a 'negative

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income tax' or graduate incomes disconnected from work or contribution, must in the end equalize downward by eroding or destroying the incentive both of those from whom the income is taken and those to whom it is given."

This is not to say that Hazlitt is against emergency government relief from poverty. He recognizes it as inevitable in a society such as ours. However, he stresses what many consider to be the central question in this area. How, he asks, can we fight poverty without "undermining the incentives of

effort and success"? And, how can we provide welfare programs and "still prevent such programs from getting out of hand"? First, Hazlitt suggests, we must have careful case-by-case investigation of welfare requests. We must demand that welfare recipients, assuming they are fit and qualified, agree to go to work. And finally, to keep all welfare schemes within bounds, relief should be extended in the form of loans, "and no adult who is on or who has been on relief, should be entitled to vote until the loan is repaid."

Gordon Tullock of Virginia Polytechnical Institute repeated several of the assertions about transferring income from "the wealthy to the poor," which he first made in his book *The Calculus of Consent*. This "transferring of funds," he thinks, is desirable for all segments of our society. He cites the existence of private charity before the development of large-scale public charity as an example of the normality of welfare. However, he laments, most of the programs enacted since the New Deal have been of little use to the poor. "In fact, a great many of them actually injure the poor . . ." Like Friedman, he would abolish most of these programs. He would not abolish Social Security, but reform it to make the entire cost of it fall explicitly upon the wage earner, thus ending the illusion that the employer pays half out of profits.

Another area that evoked spirited replies from our contributors was the financing of American education. Ernest van den Haag, who has devoted much of his time to the study of American education, accepts the need for collectively financed primary and secondary education. Here he finds himself in the company of the patriarch of conservative economists, Adam Smith, who argued that if the state makes certain educational demands of the citizenry, then the state ought to provide the means of suppying them with the needed education. With Milton Friedman he favors the voucher system, which would enable parents to send their children to any school, public or private, they desired. A voucher would be given the parent for each school-aged child equivalent to the amount currently spent per pupil on public schooling. The parent would then decide where to spend the voucher. Van den Haag opposes aid beyond the secondary level, although he would make loans available covering college fees and living expenses. Van den Haag notes that government subsidies for college education in the end transfer money from comparatively poor taxpayers to comparatively well-to-do college graduates. Amplifying this point, Milton Friedman notes that college and university students are enjoying a privilege still confined to a minority, and should be willing to pay for it.

On the subject of monopoly and competition, our contributors all emphasized belief in the importance of free competition. So far as the government's role is concerned, Friedman sums it all up when he argues that the government ought not to allow legal monopolies, except such limited-term monopolies as patents and copyrights. "Monopoly should in no case be encouraged by the imposition of protective tariffs or import prohibitions or quotas. There should be no encouragement of agricultural monopolies through government crop-restriction schemes, and no encouragement of labor monopolies through restrictions on the freedom of individual employers or workers. . . . Most present antitrust laws merely restrict industrial progress, and should be replaced. Effective competition is assured by the survival of the most efficient low-cost producers, and those that best serve the consumers." Israel Kirzner and Yale Brozen have carried Friedman's position even further, by noting that historically monopolistic power over production has been the result of governmental restrictions on competition.

Labor and Trade

Like most contemporary students of our society, conservative economists recognize the need for labor-union reform. Yale Brozen is particularly firm on this point. He would repeal the Norris-La Guardia Act, the Wagner Act, and various state right-to-work laws. He would ban the use of authorizing cards to compel recognition of a union. He would abolish all restrictions on the number of apprentices an employer may hire, and effectively ban all make-work rules and practices. Milton Friedman favors elimination of any special immunities now granted labor unions; he would subject them to the same rules and regulations to which other organizations are now subject, including antitrust laws. Henry Hazlitt takes the position that the only legitimate function of government in relation to labor is keeping the peace. And like Brozen, he rejects most labor legislation; along with other contributors, he strongly defends the right of unions, regardless of size, to organize, although he argues strongly against the government legally compelling employers to recognize, bargain and negotiate with a particular union or to adopt a union shop. Most of our contributors are opposed to compulsory arbitration.

Tax policy and international trade are both areas of substantial agreement. Taxation should be a device for raising the money that a government needs to function; for some contributors, also a way of regulating the level of total ex-

(Continues on page 114)

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NOTHING FOR THE MAN

A member of the rip-off generation finds that stealing is OK, if it's from the boss, or the customer, or the old lady on Social Security, or a drunk. But not from the blind—because that's too easy

Apologies of a Dishonest Cab Driver

DONALD HEBERT

THE FOLLOWING is a chronological account of a typical day in a cab driver's life. The names have been changed to protect the guilty.

10:00 A.M. I rise. Having worked until early that same morning I am reluctant to do so, but motives of greed impel me. I must get in early enough to get one of a certain kind of cab without which the day's money-making activities would be severely hampered.

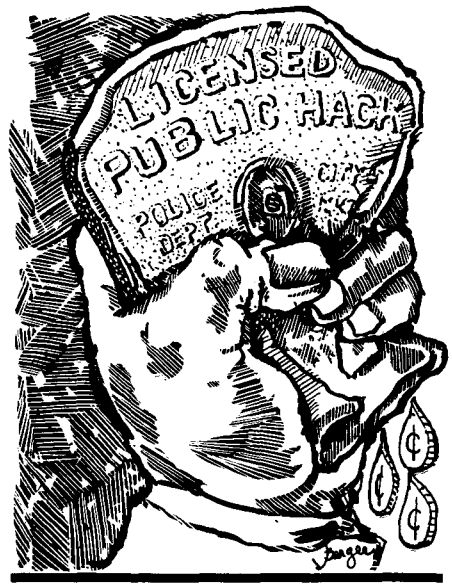
11:10 A.M. I arrive at the office and as always my Honey is there. It's not a new cab; it smokes, the back seat comes apart, it's usually dirty and always ugly, but it runs good and it's the money-makingest cab in the place.

In driving a metered cab there are certain, shall we say, refinements that can increase one's per-hour salary as much as 200 per cent. Principal among these has to do with removing the odometer, that item hooked up to the speedometer cable which tells the driver how far he has gone.

In a metered cab where the driver's salary is determined by a percentage of the gross, the meter is supposed to be used on every job to show the passenger the cost of the trip and to record each time the meter was put on (trips) and each subsequent increase (units). At the end of each day the driver consults the meter to determine how much all his passengers ought to have paid him. He then divides the take, paying the owner his percentage, 55 per cent to 60 percent, and keeping the balance and all tips.

Problem: How to carry a passenger and collect the fare without having to put it on the meter.

One solution is simply to high-flag the passenger; in other words carry him with the meter off. But this is dangerous because a hack inspector can catch



you if he sees you carrying a passenger in the cab with the meter off.

By disconnecting the odometer, if you have a cab where this is possible (Honey is such a cab), you will also disconnect the meter. Then no matter how far you drive the meter will never change from the initial figure and no mileage will be accumulated.

For instance, suppose you've got an old lady and the odometer is off. Put the meter on (trips are registered by the motion of the flag not by distance traveled) and ask the old bag how much her fare generally runs (nine out of ten know exactly). Charge her that much even if she is a bald-faced liar (frequently they are). Never upset her because all she has to do when she gets home is feed her birdies and call in to the office and complain. No matter how far the run is the meter will not change. If she wonders about this give her a story about how you suspected it was broken last trip but you were not sure but now you are so when she removes herself from the cab you're headed straight for the office for repairs etc. . . . Then put the whole amount in your pocket, keep the meter on and go looking for more. You can ride around all day like that and never get caught for high-flagging because the meter is on.

11:15 A.M. I'm on the stand called "X." Sometimes there is a wait; sometimes not. The dispatcher hasn't missed me since I called in for gas; hopefully he won't for quite a while.

11:20 A.M. A lady going to Chester Heights. A good run, it ought to be worth $2.50 anyway. She's old and not very talkative. She knows a short cut and I take it. Always go the way the customer says even if you know it's the long way. They've still got to pay.

'Pretty Good So Far'

11:35 A.M. Trip over. $2.70 on the meter. She gives me three bucks. I stick the money in my pocket and thank her in one motion, not knowing whether she intended me to keep the change. Most passengers, particularly old ladies on Social Security, just do not have the *chutzpah* to ask for their change when you act like you intend to keep it. That's three for me nothing for the man. In fifteen minutes that's not bad but now I've got to deadhead all the way back to "X." So I whip that odometer off, cut the meter and take off.

11:55 A.M. I'm back but third out on the stand. This could hurt my average.

12:10 P.M. Something going to Minnesota Ave. NO TIP. (Just let el cheapo walk in front of the cab.) Sixty cents more in the pocket. Mark it in the book. ("The book" is a little folder I use to keep track of the trips and units. It is separate from the official manifest and its existence is top-secret. Even the

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letters in it are abbreviated and even the abbreviations are in Russian.)

12:15 P.M. I've been out an hour now so I ought to take something from the poor dispatcher who has been screaming for anybody open anywhere. "Just give me your number and I'll give you a job, fellows. PLEASE!!" I respond and he gives me a job. This job goes down on the manifest so I got to split it with the man but the odometer is off so I am accumulating stuff that I can make good use of later.

12:20 P.M. Finished. A little bookwork and back to "X."

12:25 P.M. A double off "X." A double or triple is what every driver looks for. Two different people usually going in the same direction; you run them both together but charge them each full fare. Double profit. This particular one is not too good however since they go in opposite directions. They were afraid they wouldn't get a cab so they both climbed in. It beats sandbagging anyway. Takes a while to run. All $3.95 in the pocket. Including tips I'm making around $8 for a little over two hours.

1:00 P.M. A job from the dispatcher going out to Vernontown. A good run in itself but it takes too long and it leaves me way out in the sticks. Maybe I'll get something coming back.

1:40 P.M. A damned grocery run. Load in the groceries at no extra charge. Short run. Little money. Carry the groceries inside. Bad scene; my average is suffering but I've still got the "O" off so I'm accumulating the stuff good days are made of.

2:00 P.M. I've deadheaded back to town. A man can starve living off those grocery runs. It is the pickups that count. You don't have to split them.

3:00 P.M. More pickups; more money. I check back in with the dispatcher now, since he's crying. If he misses me it could get touchy trying to explain my extended absence. The last job he has me down for was over an hour ago. He is begging. I vouchsafe my location. My disappearance goes unnoticed. If every driver behaved the way I did the people would never get their cabs. To hell with them. Never anything decent. This one goes over to the public-housing development. It runs $1 and that is exactly what I get. Poor blacks never tip mainly because they are too poor. Rich blacks, of which there are known to be a couple, tip with the best of them. Four hours and $18 in the pocket. Pretty good so far.

3:20 P.M. At this point I decide to take another job from the dispatcher. I only have $4 on the manifest and if I overdo those pickups they will certainly wonder where I've been and just what I've been doing. This next job is a little better, going a little way downtown. Now, with the big "O" still off I'm really beginning to accumulate trips, units and mileage. I've got an excuse for disappearing now. When you are downtown the interference from the mobile telephones is such that you can't make out what your dispatcher is saying for all the stock tips and idle gossip.

4:10 P.M. Got to get into position back up in Vernontown because there is a good job coming up at five. It's an everyday thing and really helps the mileage when you run it off the odometer. It doesn't pay much money but it goes fast.

5:05 P.M. I get the job but I'm going to be late. Got a run from Park Crest Valley over to Vernontown where I wanted to be. But the guy is a real talker who loves to toot his own horn. I'm not rude but I check my watch now and then. He is so fetched with himself he doesn't notice my squirming. I always squirm when some guy thinks I'd rather listen to him than make money. Three times he starts to leave and three times he remembers another battle he was in. Should I tell him to keep it in his head? Naw. He can't help it. Maybe he'll get tired. Just a little more talk and he is up again. I knew he hadn't drowned in his own glory when he came up the fourth time. This time I didn't give him a chance to sit back down. I put it in gear and roll a little. He gets the hint and shuts the door. I tell him how much I enjoyed listening to him and he soaks it up.

5:30 P.M. I arrive at the parking lot where I am to meet several passengers and haul them to the nearest bus line for some cheaper conveyance. They fill up the back seat and it begins to move around like it had a mind of its own. The passengers get nervous. I assure them nothing has lived under that seat for months now and it's probably safe.

6:10 P.M. Drop the people off, mark it in the book, replace the back seat and I'm off. I now have accumulated 78 units, four trips and over fifty miles all of which must be used up before I can turn Honey in. Time to hook up the odometer. Here is what makes Honey such a dream. That odometer goes back in the slot just like sex only more profitable. A twist here, a turn there and a little jiggle and she's all hooked up safe and sound. Time to work off the mileage and build up my manifest which at this point is pitiful. At six o'clock I had put $31 in my pocket and only $11 on the manifest. For the inexperienced driver the reverse is always true. They turn in more money to the boss than they take home. I'd quit before I'd ever do that.

Maybe . . .

6:15 P.M. Starting to get dark. Another double at "X." This time a lady goes to the public-housing development and another lady off the bus going to Vernontown, the opposite direction. Might as well run them both rather than let some new guy get one and split it with the boss. The lady going to Vernontown gets off last and she's another talker. She won't stop talking but she's a good tipper and kinda nice too. I carry her bags to the door and walk briskly away. Napoleon once said, "I

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may lose battles but never lose minutes." My sentiments exactly.

6:55 P.M. My first drunk. An idiot going to Park Crest Valley. He was in the 82nd Airborne Division, Gavin's old unit, and normally we would have much to talk about if he weren't so tight you could get drunk just smelling his breath. He's got to get up front with me. UGH!! They always got to get up front. They think it makes them either superordinary or non-drunk to sit up front with the driver. He wants me to feel how strong his arm is. I oblige.

6:57 P.M. Since I haven't put in an appearance on the official board and since the dispatcher is calling Park Crest Valley for cabs I decide to bid. "22 willing on a PCV at Mark and Skinner Sts." I thought for sure he would send me to Park Crest Valley where I was going with Dean Martin anyway but that ignorant dispatcher pulls one of those tricks they pull when you bid en route and they don't know you're en route. He sends me right back to "X" where I got the drunk. Now I got to hustle. I got to run this drunk all the way to PCV and make it all the way back to "X" before the people call in wanting to know where their cab is and the dispatcher discovers either that I wasn't where I said I was or it's taking me twenty minutes to go two blocks. To compound the problem the traffic lights are all against me. I just can't make any time. When we get there the drunk wants me to hear some more stuff. He can't seem to get his money out. Watching the clock. Finally he pays me in small change and very slowly starts to get out. Strange as it may sound, a drunk may not be able to see the cab but he always manages to come up with the right change. But there is a trick you can pull on a drunk when he is in the back seat. Pull a single out of your pocket while en route and inconspicuously put it on the front seat. When you go to drop him off, if he pays with a five for, say, a $1.50 run, put the five in your shoe and pick up the one and tell him he owes you 50 cents. It'll serve him right for getting so drunk he doesn't know what he's doing. The trick works with blind people too but it's so easy there is no artistic challenge so I generally give blind people the break. This particular drunk was up front so I couldn't rip him off. Better luck next time.

7:10 P.M. Back to "X" for my other passengers.

7:20 P.M. Got the people at "X" going just a few blocks but they were very patient so apologize and carry their stuff. I made up a lie as to why I was late and thereby saved my tip.

9:15 P.M. Business is really slow. I've had a few jobs, nothing special, a drunk or two and a couple of nasty people. They were a young man and an older woman straight from the penetralia of the Ozark Mountains where the telephone was just recently discovered. The man is just out of prison for assault and judging by the way he talks it must have been the English language he assaulted. The woman looks like an unusually despoiled mummy with large bulging eyes and a hairdo in the early bird's nest style. I have made $41 for myself and put $18 on the manifest.

9:20 P.M. A man approaches my window. He looks clean so I roll down the glass to hear his proposition. Not always but usually when they approach your window they want to bargain for a discount before they get in. This guy is different. He wants to know where he can get a bottle at this hour. I am tempted by such events for I know that some drivers can make a good living bootlegging liquor to such people. They pick up a few half-pints on their own and when someone asks in their cab they send up a balloon to see what happens. If the guy seems amenable the driver makes the pitch. A reasonable mark-up: 100 per cent, that's all. You can make a good living at it but if you ever get caught you can really get busted. Besides, I do not drink myself and I won't help another man drink for money; especially for money. There is a little dignity among the worst of us. But the man wants me to take him across the county line where he can get some booze and then bring him back. Legally I cannot refuse. Out and back in thirty minutes. That was my last job for 45 minutes.

10:15 P.M. My $4 per hour average is shot. A lady gets in the cab but only speaks Spanish. My Spanish is lousy but it must be better than hers because at least I can understand what I am saying.

10:30 P.M. Back on the stand. Six cabs ahead of me. This is bad. There are no pickups and the dispatcher is putting out one call every five minutes for twenty hungry cab drivers.

11:00 P.M. Twelve hours and $43 but from here on in it gets worse. Since I cleared all my units and trips up around 10:45 and my manifest agrees with the meter I have decided to run the rest of the night strictly legal and just shoot for $50 which is a respectable sum.

12:30 A.M. A few more. Nothing significant. $48 for me and $28 for the boss of which he only gets a majority percentage. Not a bad day but the business is so lousy I decide to call it quits. Into the office. Count up. Give the man his and put mine away. Got to catch a cab home to Vernontown. It runs $2.50 and I give him three. He runs it off the meter and puts it all in his pocket. Everyone is happy and what the boss don't know won't hurt him. Maybe. □

"The kids aren't buying Rubin, Hoffman, Marcuse and Kunstler anymore, Al. Now they're looking for heroes."

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LETTER FROM SANTIAGO

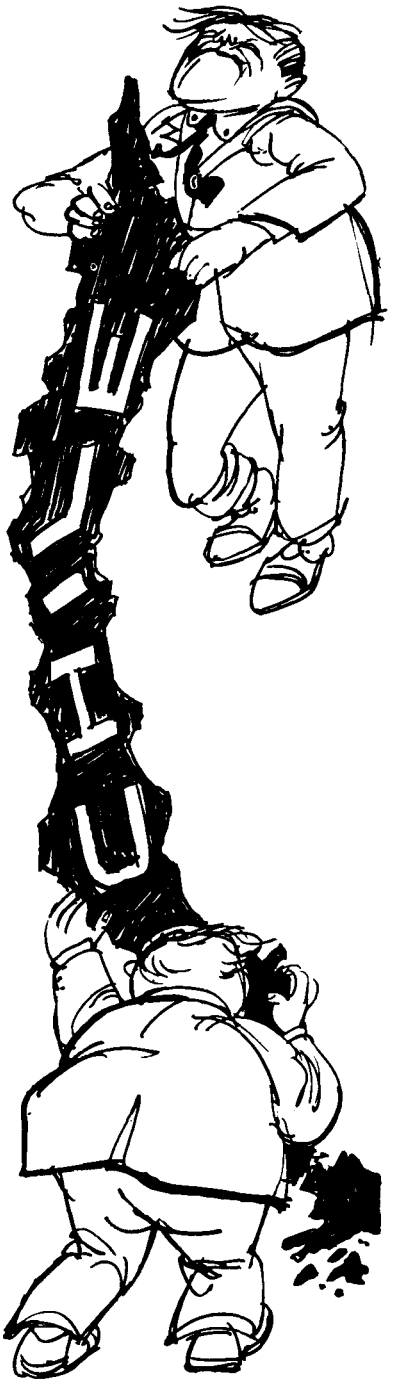
Is Allendism Here To Stay?

ROBERTO GOMEZ

WITHIN MONTHS after the election of Chile's President Salvador Allende Gossens, the term "Allendism," coined by students in Paris, had become a new and charismatic synonym for Marxism. Che stepped down and Allende took his place. But now, a year after his election, the Allende posters are coming down. What has Allende himself done to account for the waning of the Allende cult among the left propagandists of the world?

Salvador Allende is on a tightrope. While the various Chilean political parties grow or shrink, three trends are discernible among the Chilean people: there are those who believe in free enterprise, law, order and freedom; those who are attached to a lukewarm leftist "middle of the road," who dabble in a vague sort of democratic socialism; and those who detest pluralism. It is a marvelous experience to watch Allende, a wily politician with forty years' parliamentary know-how, handle these elements.

The Christian Democrat Party, the minute pro-Unidad Popular parties (non-Marxist) and many independent socialists seek democratic socialism. They advocate a three-ply economy: a) state-owned (basic industries), b) mixed (conversion of the basic industries) and c) totally private (small enterprises). On the extreme anti-pluralist Left we find the Communist Party's nonviolent and, if necessary, unhurried road to totalitarianism. The CP understands that orthodox Communism lost ground in Latin America when it became the symbol of disorder, of machine gunning and "*el paredón*" (the firing squad). It follows that both Allende and the CP, however fierce the silent war between them, will join forces in their common fight against the impetuous wing of the Socialist Party headed by its Secretary General, Senator Carlos Altamirano. Altamirano wants to end Allende's cat-and-mouse game with the constitution. This gradual approach (now labeled "*la via chilena*" or Allendism) and the continued existence of the smaller parties and movements making up the Unidad Popluar are necessary to convince Chile's neighbors of Allende's tolerance.



On the extreme Left, there is the well organized MIR (*Movimiento de Isquierda Revolucionaria*), up to now a fairly calm Tupamaro-type organization. Its membership and top leader are unknown, but many believe Altamirano is its *éminence grise*. It is the MIR that could topple Allende from his precarious position. Altamirano is a "now or never" man; he demands a referendum and a single (Marxist-dominated) legislature. Altamirano's insistence could lead to confrontation. Some believe a bloody one; others not. Some say soon; others, that the armed forces will have the final word. Who will profit? The Communist Party? The opposition? Allende? On whom or what can Allende lean? Would the workers come to his aid? A few unions, mainly those in the northern copper mines and fishing industries, are flirting with the Christian Democrats. Strikes to harm the government are a new tactic. The army? Traditionally in Chile the armed forces have supported the constitutional government and observers feel that revolt would bring them to Allende's side, either to protect him or to govern with him as chief—provided he is not first assassinated.

INCREDIBLY, the man on the street does not see the coming struggle. The prospect of the evening "*pisco sour*," a leisurely weekend in Vina del Mar and the fantastic spending boom which keeps boutiques, stores and restaurants humming, all these combine to make the silent majority believe that, somehow, Chile is different; that nothing has changed or will ever change. There has been no massacre of the innocents and the Chilean needs to believe it will not come. Daily life continues to be too easy, too friendly, too cordial, too soft. "Living in Spain and Argentina is hard, lonely, cold," write back those who fled in terror right after Allende's election. They have unwittingly become one of Allende's best propaganda vehicles.

How long will the mirage last? The opposition press attacks the government right and left. And though the three existing TV channels are not precisely anti-Marxist, two pungent political talk-shows on Sunday nights criticize with biting sarcasm the calculations and pro-

Mr. Gomez is a Chilean businessman and journalist.

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cedures of the Unidad Popular. The existence of these programs helps maintain Allende's international prestige. As for the papers, no matter how uncertain their finances, no matter how many times outspoken editors have landed in jail, news *does* slip out and *is* printed.

The Chilean people could see—if they wished to—the falseness of Allende's supposed constitutional rule. They should know of the multiple pressures on private banks. They should know that the government has incited fictitious strikes to justify government intervention and confiscation of industry. And they should certainly suspect by now that issuing bank notes by the thousands and the millions will eventually result in galloping inflation, that however alluring the present spending boom, a freeze on prices going hand-in-hand with steep salary increases will end in industrial chaos.

What Chileans may not be aware of is that the rural areas have been turned into a principal political laboratory. Do citizens in Santiago really care whether one, ten or fifty farms are seized in a single month? Do they believe that MIR and its high-handed satellites are behind the drastic agrarian reforms of Jacques Chonchol, the tricky Minister of Agriculture? Does the city man seriously wish to tax his mind with statistics on diminishing agricultural production? He'll have to start soon. While Chonchol is trying his best to save face by insisting on collectivization rather than the *asentamiento* system (the small land holdings of former peasants), the system *he* started during the first half of President Frei's administration, the housewife is discovering that meat, fowl, fish, eggs and milk are very nearly things of the past. The black market is flourishing. She is told, and believes, that an unexpected snowstorm or a tragic earthquake is responsible for these shortages. But she also recalls that analysts—left and right—said months ago that Chile would have a severe shortage before the end of the year unless, of course, world copper prices increased and more dollars were pumped into food imports.

Twice during the last decade Chile has had to fulfill a major role in international politics. When Castro took power, the Kennedy Administration believed it was vital to push a non-Marxist popular leader into the limelight in Latin America. Frei's dazzling theories and growing popularity fit the bill. He became the answer, the hope, but he failed and his failure was Russia's opportunity. Russia acted mostly behind the scenes, conscious that violence was unwelcome, and knowing that, no matter how pagan *el pueblo* may seem, Latins still believe in hell fire, and that Catholicism as well as a deep-rooted sense of family still count. The Chilean Way was born.

Allende has not proposed an educational system which would separate children from parents, and private schools have been assured they will remain autonomous. He has not raised the specter of the firing squad; there have not been and presumably will not be any political prisoners while Allendism remains alive, with good reason. The Chilean Way was created to seduce the Big Five: Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela, Mexico and Argentina. And in turn, of course, to become the model for Italy and France. For Marxism this is an inexpensive operation especially if relative success is achieved in, say, three years. If the cost to Chile is the selling and dividing of everything the country has, the wanton destruction of its economy—does it really matter to the USSR?

Allendism has made advances. Allende's trips to Salta, Quito and Bogotá were a huge success. No more skilful emissary could have been sent. He is

(Continues on page 115)

An Uncommon Cause: The Snails in Miami

WE FIRST read of the crisis last Saturday in the *San Jose Mercury*, America's greatest newspaper (for the price). The headline read, on page twenty, "Monster Snails Rampage Again in Miami." Informed sources tell of an emergency meeting held in the paneled East Room of the White House (possibly an unwise location, as the snails feed on the cellulose in wood and the calcium in white paint). An alarmed President called for a national commission to study the problem.

We have on our desk a preliminary report of that imposing commission made up of America's most renowned natural and social scientists. Professor Hindsight, historian, reports that in 1961 two snails were brought from Africa via Hawaii against their will by an eight-year-old boy. As snails lack moral restraint, they have since bred asexually and profusely. Sociologist Noble Heartbleed reports they are now living under abysmal conditions in a Miami ghetto.

Some solutions suggested by the unenlightened National Security Council rest on the proposition that not being equal in dignity to man, the snails ought to be poisoned or bombed. This will be difficult, however, as DDT has been banned. In addition the Russians might retaliate, according to Professor Appeasement, a Brookings Institution political scientist. Ecologists say snails are already an endangered species.

Militant snails have reportedly requested assistance from the UN against the U.S. policies of genocide, imperialism and repression. The American Maritime Association and the longshoremen have put pressure on a commission member, a Berkeley professor, to recommend sending the snails to Africa, as that is where their cultural and other roots lie. Others are demanding a program of Snail Studies at the nation's colleges and universities. The presidents of Berkeley, Harvard, Yale and Princeton report some modified program will be available spring semester.

The Anti-Defamation League reports that the snails have now lived in America for eight generations and are entitled to the same rights as other Americans under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Professor Dogood, sociologist, points out that the present program of public assistance is inadequate for the needs of this oppressed minority. Governor Reagan insists that they work on public projects instead of living off the public dole, because only individual initiative can solve their problems. In the meantime, the redneck citizens of Miami have taken the law into their own hands by rushing out on their lawns to poison or smash the unfortunate creatures. The American Humane Society, the American Association of University Professors, the American Civil Liberties Union and the Sierra Club have lodged a protest. The five groups plan a march on Washington when all the schools are open in early October.

—ROGER B. CANFIELD

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LETTER FROM RICHMOND

Judge Merhige's Little Plan

ROBERT G. HOLLAND

FEDERAL DISTRICT JUDGE Robert R. Merhige Jr. issued an ukase on Jan. 10 commanding the consolidation by September of the public school system of three separate municipalities in the Richmond, Va. metropolitan area for the purpose of diluting a majority-Negro city system with two majority-white county ones.

Judge Merhige proposes to take the systems of the City of Richmond (43,000 pupils, 70 per cent black), the County of Henrico (34,000 pupils, 92 per cent white), and the County of Chesterfield (24,000 pupils, 91 per cent white), add buses, shake well, and produce a brave new merged (merhiged, as the natives say) school system of 101,000 pupils, 66 per cent white, 34 per cent black, encompassing 752 square miles within which every school must have a black minority of not more than 40 nor less than 20 per cent.

The process by which the Judge fancies that the desired white dominance—which he takes to be a sine qua non of "quality education"—will materialize in each school is chillingly Orwellian. Computers are to grind out the precise racial percentage targets for each school. A birthday lottery will determine which pupils of what color go where to "deliver the racial mix," as Judge Merhige so aptly phrases it. One wonders how long it will be before the Judge will consider broadening his edict to enjoin citizens from moving their residence or subscribing to private schools—to prevent them from lousing up the ordained racial balances.

A reading of the Merhige merger memorandum's 325 pages of turgid and disjointed prose is no divertissement, but citizens of other urban communities would be well advised to make the effort. Forced metropolitan consolidation is already under judicial study in such places with majority-black school populations as Detroit. If Merhige's decision is not overturned on appeal, the result will be that the boundaries of local tax-levying governments will be meaningless.

What the Judge has done is to declare that a "community of interest" exists between Richmond and its suburban neighbors, Henrico and Chesterfield, that overrides the political system which happens to exist. It matters not that Henrico and Chesterfield go back some 350 years as entities of their own, and actually predate Richmond. The Judge conceives the three to be one—and then further declares this one system to be illegally "dual" under the Fourteenth Amendment because of racial disparities among the three which he imagines to result solely from state—and private—racism. He imposes upon the state's board of education the "affirmative duty" to integrate this system—to appoint the officials and control the finances, thus neatly bypassing local elected representatives and taxpayers.

If political demarcations must yield to regional racial balance in Richmond, it is easy to imagine not only city and county but state lines bowing to the cause of racial redistribution in the Kansas City and Washington, D.C. metropolitan areas.

IN ADVANCING his thesis that Negroes are "locked in," the Judge is not impressed by the outlawing of racial discrimination in housing, jobs and schools in the more recent past. Nor does he concede any role freedom of movement and association may play in community living patterns. Freedom is, in fact, not a word or concept much favored in this harsh document. "Community perceptions" are even criticized as a "segregatory" (the Judge's word) influence!

Thus: "Schools the racial composition of which depart significantly from the community parity, educators agree, are perceived by parents, teachers, administrators, public officials, pupils, and the community at large as facilities designed and operated for one race or the other. Generally schools attended under these circumstances by disproportionate numbers of black students are perceived as inferior. Experts generally concur that this has adverse effects not only on black pupils and teachers, but the entire community. This impact affects both the cognitive and affective development of the pupils. Analogous effects impede the development of white students in disproportionately white schools." And this is the stuff of constitutional law?

So-called "white flight" is indeed a concern for civic-minded leaders, but it is ironic that Judge Robert Merhige of all people would cite Richmond's loss of 7,800 (or 39 per cent) of its white pupils during the past two years as evidence to support his findings of a dual metropolitan system. For that exodus occurred as a direct result of two massive cross-busing schemes ordered in the city by Judge Merhige. [See *NR*, May 4, 1971.] The Judge (Vice Chairman, Virginians for Johnson, 1964; appointed to the bench in 1967 by LBJ) evidently adheres to a basic tenet of political liberalism: When a government program fails abysmally, the answer is to expand it, sevenfold.

THERE ARE other little ironies Richmonders are well aware of. One is that, in ordering consolidation, deus ex machina, the Judge was looking upon his own brainchild and finding it good. In a July 1970 letter to black plaintiffs Judge Merhige suggested that the city school board explore a consolidation with neighboring counties. The school board took this as an invitation to file suit, and did so. Subsequently, Merhige rather testily declined all suggestions of county and state defendants that he disqualify himself from hearing the merger case. Another bone in the craw of many Richmonders is that the Judge's own son attends a posh private white school within walking distance of his home. Is that impolite to mention? Well, when Merhige writes things like "the evidence preponderates that a bus trip of an hour for elementary children is not educationally harmful," and "meaningful integration in a biracial community . . . is essential to the quality of education," the laborer, the clerk and the plumber legitimately wonder why this applies only to their sons and not to a federal judge's. □

Mr. Holland is Associate Editor of the Richmond Times-Dispatch.

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AN UNSOLUTION

The Case for Negative Money

JACKSON W. GRANHOLM

THE CONGRESS shall have the power to coin money. So states Section Eight of the Constitution of the United States.

Congress has exercised this power more or less continually since the ratification of the Constitution by the original thirteen states, though it took a little while to get things under way. Up until about the time of the Civil War there was a shortage of coin, and many foreign coins, particularly Spanish dollars, circulated in the land.

Congress has also gone into some rather involved methods for getting the dough out where it belongs—in circulation. During the Civil War, the much-debated United States notes, or greenbacks, were originated, to the great horror of all traditional bankers.

Today all currency is in Federal Reserve notes. The Federal Reserve Banks went into the dollar-bill business a few years ago, and everything now has the Treasury seal printed in the reassuring dull green ink of the Fed banks.

Prior to this latest glitch in the issuance of what passes for money, all Federal Reserve notes contained a legend in small print which read: "This note is legal tender for all debts public and private, and may be exchanged for lawful money at any Federal Reserve Bank."

Not being quite sure of the difference between legal tender and lawful money, I enlivened an otherwise dull afternoon by walking into a Federal Reserve Bank and asking to be paid lawful money in exchange for such a note. The resulting conversation clearly indicated I was apt to be buying a one-way trip to the funny farm, escorted by the Feds. I left, still clutching my sweaty $5 bill.

There is a manifest flaw in our monetary system that could be readily corrected, and yet no action seems to be taken. Maybe we should all write our congressmen. Money is issued in all reasonable amounts from cents up through large bills, but it is all in positive, integral numbers. A mathematician will instantly recognize that the number system should be extended to include the negative integers.

What is needed is for the government to coin and issue money in negative amounts to supplement the economy. In federal newspeak we can, of course, refer to this new printing and coinage as "negamoney."

As soon as negative money is accepted, a great many things become simplified. It is no longer necessary for governments to collect taxes. They simply issue the proper amounts of negamoney to the suffering taxpayer; accomplishing the equivalent result, and it is now up to the citizen to figure out how he gets rid of it.

No longer is there need to be dunned by creditors. Department stores, utilities, oil companies etc. can simply send negachecks instead of bills. These are taken by the recipient to his friendly local bank where, of course, they are duly entered and filed as an undeposit. Opening the mail might become more pleasant this way. Of course, in order to follow this procedure, the large companies will have to acquire large supplies of negacredit, and we can expect that the banking business will thrive on the whole new and unexplored field of unloans.

IN TIMES of liquidity crisis, such as the current attack of acute Hooverian prosperity, new companies can be founded and spring into successful operation readily. All they need to do is to hire people with large savings of negamoney. On payday, the company collects instead of paying out and the economy is thus vastly strengthened.

Las Vegas will greatly expand its activities with a whole new set of devices for negamoney gambling. The unslot machine will scoop in jackpots instead of dumping them out, and craps, roulette, blackjack and baccarat will be played with new sets of odds which are in the house's disfavor.

Severe penalties will have to be put into law to deal with attempts to destroy negamoney. New protective devices will be needed to thwart attempts to break into bank vaults in order to leave negamoney and citizens will need protection against the second-story unburglar who attempts to put negamoney into seldom used bureau drawers without getting caught. Sewage works may expect problems as a result of the illegal flushing of negamoney down toilets.

Attempts to conceal negamoney so it does not appear on one's net worth statement will have to be guarded against by bankers. We may expect many more kinds of devious schemes to be developed by the criminal element that seems ever to form a small part of our population. There may even be a revival of bootlegging in which attempts are made to smuggle negamoney out of the country.

But as the brilliant concept of negamoney begins to work well, it may be expanded to other areas of usefulness. The Post Office can print negastamps to be used on junk mail which we don't want to get anyway. Negaprizes can be given in nationwide contests by companies trying to get out of the marketing of a particularly undesirable product. Negainsurance can bring monthly premium checks to the policyholder, unless he has a loss, in which event he must pay the insurance company.

Most people will probably want to carry negamoney separately from their money, hoping that someone will steal it. Thus the wallet business can be expected to double, and, after many centuries, there will finally be a valid reason for two hip pockets on a pair of pants.

Negamoney must, of course, be designed so that it cannot possibly be mistaken for positive money. The Bureau of Printing and Engraving can put on a nationwide competition for the most distasteful design. Color coding is also manifestly required, and, it is evident that negamoney must be printed in red ink.

I am among those who anxiously await the adoption of this simple scheme. When the happy day comes, I'm going to convert some of my liabilities into negacash, and rush into town and spend down a storm. □

Mr. Granholm is a management consultant, a columnist for a number of weekly newspapers on the West Coast and a contributor to Faith, Hope, and Parity, *a book of computer humor.*

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ERIK v. KUEHNELT-LEDDIHN

Letter from the Continent

THE MILITARY WEAKNESS OF THE WEST

AT THE last plenary session of the West European Union in Paris, a member of the German Bundestag reported on the growing resistance of young men to military service. They don't believe, he said, that the Soviet Union would dream of starting an aggressive war, this crime being the monopoly of capitalists eager to control the rice production in the Mekong Delta. Other young people are convinced that standing armies represent an irresistible inducement to wage war. Still others feel that all forms of discipline warp the personality and are a danger to freedom since all military establishments carry within them the seeds of dictatorship.

Western Europe is filled with a perilous euphoria today, conditioned by the general prosperity. Moreover the news coming from the Eastern bloc points to a deep-seated crisis in the Communist world. This news is true, but its evaluation still presents problems. From an historical viewpoint one can agree with the Viennese beerhall philosopher who said that "everything has an end, only the sausage has two."

Communism surely will not last forever. You can learn that a notorious gangster suffers from stomach ulcers, nervous tension, high blood pressure, emphysema and dental cavities—which is good news—but will all this prevent him from committing more crimes until finally he succumbs? Even given the troubles behind the Curtain, the decline of the military spirit in Western Europe may have fatal consequences. The only country where this process cannot be observed is Switzerland, that small and much traveled, but really quite unknown, country. In this "military" democracy the picture of the commanding general, not that of the president, hangs in every public office; all men are required to perform military service for several weeks annually until they are 47 years old, and the defense share of the federal budget is higher than that of any other nation in the world.

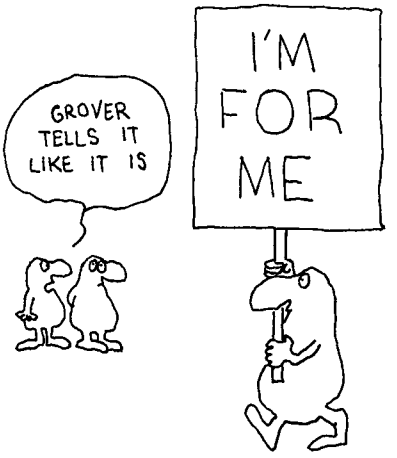
In the German Federal Republic, on the other hand, the situation is different. The concept of "citizens in uniform" has had a highly negative effect on the spirit of the *Bundeswehr*. Tradition is none too strong and quite problematic. It is little known that there was no standing German army until after the end of World War I. During the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871 and the First World War, for example, there were Prussian, Bavarian, Saxon etc. troops, but no imperial army as such. A Hamburg recruit, for instance, swore loyalty to the senate of the Republic of Hamburg.

BUT AN ARMY can thrive and achieve high morale only if it is given social support and at least a modicum of respect and prestige. Studious efforts have been made to eradicate all vestiges of status and class consciousness in the *Bundeswehr*. Ancient military traditions of a minor order but of significant psychological impact have been abolished as either "unnecessary" or "not in keeping with the spirit of a democratic order." Great pains have been taken to lower the prestige of officers, commissioned as well as noncommissioned. Authority in general has been deprecated. The mass media delight in showing the armed forces in a ridiculous light; their effectiveness in case of war has been belittled, and the virtues of self-reliance and courage, necessary for national survival in the face of a powerful enemy, are said to be obsolete.

Again and again these qualities were and are represented as "survivals from feudal times" or as "Nazi." The idea that even a free society needs shield and sword to defend itself against foreign aggressors has been abandoned. Civil resistance might once have been considered an effective weapon against other civilized powers, but the Nazis clearly proved (as have the Communists) that resisting populations can be totally obliterated. Gandhi could "resist" Britain; he would have been powerless against Hitler.

The churches were once sources of authority. Army and church traditionally worked together. The church, like the army, had a tradition of service, sacrifice, altruism and obedience. Officers, priests and ministers often came from the same families. Today the churches have become sources of subversion, falsifying the message of the Gospel.

There is no analogy to this situation in Eastern Europe. East Germany, without apology, leans on the traditions of the Prussian military and the *Wehrmacht*. In their uniforms, drill, discipline and aggressive, messianic patriotism mixed with solid ideology, the East German soldiers confirm Spengler's concept of a "Prussian socialism." A Nazi past is, needless to say, no bar whatsoever in the "National People's Army." This attitude toward the military is also true, up to a point, of the other Eastern bloc armies that have tried to assimilate older military traditions. Nothing is heard about conscientious objectors in these countries and civic organizations offering advice and counsel to COs could not possibly exist. Moreover, in Communist-dominated countries there is not the same incentive to stay out of the army. The *dolce vita* is unknown there. In a way, the Communist armies are, materially and even morally, pampered: attractive uniforms, parades, numerous privileges, even (in some countries) less political surveillance and relatively high salaries. Even the anti-Communist serves relatively willingly on the chance he might someday have an opportunity to escape across some border. □



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BOOKS

Angry Honesty on Revolution

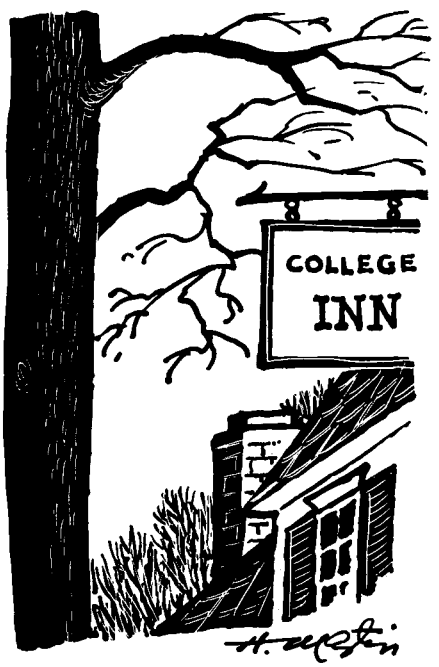
Autopsy of Revolution
By Jacques Ellul
Knopf, 300 pp., $8.95

GERHART NIEMEYER

Jacques Ellul being a professor of law and social history at Bordeaux, I first thought quite poorly of his book which I mistook for a sociology of revolution. Now of the making of sociologies of revolution there is no end; every radical professor who finds arson and bombs a bit strong for his tender nerves indulges in what he deludes himself to take for scholarship about revolution as a pattern of history. The unspoken premise is usually that revolution is the reality of realities or, as Ellul put it, "the very fabric of history." None of these "studies" ever makes a contribution; most of them generalize on one specific event, the French Revolution, some of them universalize Marx's pattern, all of them misuse apparent scholarship for purposes of advocacy. There is a good reason: revolution, the unmaking or smashing of structures of order, has itself no structure. It is nothing but *anti*, it negates and dissolves. Afterward, all the king's horses and all the king's men couldn't put Humpty-Dumpty together again.

Thus there is nothing to study but destruction, and realities can be found only in connection with what it was, and is, that makes social order possible. Any book taking "revolution" for its sole subject has thus begun with an initial act of sanctifying the negative as such. Ellul's work, on the showing of the first two chapters, seemed no exception: at most an essay rather than a piece of creative scholarship, bandying around unexamined assumptions clothed in mythical terms like "history" (a near divinity), "revolt" (a substance capable of intending, thinking, knowing itself), and the kind of striking *aperçus* the French love ("revolt is at once reactionary and mystical"). With a yawn, I was ready to put the book aside.

IT WOULD HAVE BEEN A MISTAKE. For Ellul has written this one not as a scholar but a revolutionary, and an angry revolutionary at that. What is he angry about? Society—that goes without saying, and he leaves it mostly unsaid. No, his anger is white-hot against other revolutionaries, the shallowness or error of their thinking, and the decay of revolutionary hard-headed sagacity. His first two chapters, it is true, serve him mainly to set up some distinctions he needs later, notably between "revolt" (an irrational, passionate rejection of past history, an "unconscious choice" that "prefers death to life as it is," a process "void of thought, visceral, physical") and "revolution" (implies a doctrine, a plan, a program, and also ensues when rebels "lose sight of their power and are completely out of touch with what is real and possible, seeing revolt thereafter as divinity on the march").



Even in these chapters, though, he hits out right and left against inadequate interpreters of revolution, particularly Albert Camus, Hannah Arendt, and, with supreme contempt, Herbert Marcuse. All this is somewhat preparatory, but one takes away from it some refreshing bits of clear thinking: "A class is not a concrete, identifiable enemy. It is an abstraction." Or: "The social issue of exploitation never played an important part in revolts prior to the eighteenth century." Or his insistence on the violent character of revolt and revolution and the inapplicability of the term for evolutionary social changes (e.g., the industrial "revolution").

IT IS IN THE NEXT TWO CHAPTERS, though, that the book makes exciting reading for conservatives. Under the title "Revolution Betrayed" he attacks Marx with arguments that go to the heart of the matter. Anger makes not only for a sharp tongue but also for sharp thought, and about nobody else is one quite as angry as about a co-religionist. Ellul accuses his fellow-worshiper Marx of having given mental shape to the type of revolution that now dominates our age, and having misconceived and misdirected it.

Marx, first, is guilty of the concept of the "objective situation . . . the time at which effective action can produce a crisis" and the related doctrine of "revolutionary necessity." As a result, "man appeared ultimately as an intruder in the revolutionary plan designed by history," and "spontaneity becomes a variable of tactical calcula-

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tions." In Marxist methodology, Marxist phraseology and, the most fearful of these, Marxist tradition, "revolution has become a 'fetish,' having value in itself and for itself." Second, Marx has failed to understand the nature of political structure and to see the steady growth of state power in history. Revolution to Marxists means the end of the state and of government; "every discussion of Communism focusses on it." Marx "scientifically" predicted this to be the course of history.

Actually, things have moved in the opposite direction. "Whether we like it or not, a type of constant of revolution has existed since 1789. Each successful revolution has left the state enlarged, better organized, more potent, and with wider areas of influence . . . [dictatorship] is not the important element; it is the institutional transformation, the creation of a more rational, all-embracing, efficient and systematic state . . ." Thus Marx's "faulty appraisal of history's course" (note the kindred terminology) "must answer for the betrayal of all revolutions based on his doctrine." Answer to whom? Whence derives an obligation to Revolution, that it could be "betrayed"? Mr. Ellul, when you brand Marx as a heretic, who has sanctioned your orthodoxy?

THE MOST delightful reading, however, came in the next chapter, called "Vulgarized Revolution," with Ellul scorning and ridiculing the fad-revolutionists who make revolution the "focus of social conversation," who have "created a state of mass intoxication," and reduced revolution to "the level of daily news, along with winter sports. . . ." Revolution, "no longer a source of anxiety and terror, has become a barnyard animal," and our world, in the name of progress, affixes a "positive sign to the ever-present Great Agitation."

The sharpest barbs aim at the Christian revolutionists, in a section of 3,500 words that should be reprinted as a special supplement by NATIONAL REVIEW. Never mind that Ellul hates Christianity. Who could have said these things with less suspicion of having an axe to grind? "[Shaull] confuses the revolutionary pressure of messianism with *all varieties* of social revolution currently exploding for any number of reasons. . . . Furthermore, there is not the faintest suggestion that other forces than God may be at work and that the 'prince of the Earth' may indeed have a hand in earthly revolutions." He quotes Father Cardonnel: "no revelation without revolution," and goes on to comment that apparently revolutionaries, not saints, are sanctified in Christ. Father Maillard goes even further in admitting that Christian premises cannot serve as a point of departure for demonstrating the revolutionary element or force inherent in Christianity, and therefore urging that Christians ought to embrace revolution because it has value for its own sake. Such clergymen have transformed "revolution into value, a standard of good, and now of faith," through an "utterly vapid use of words to convey either sociological or theological meaning."

The book ends with what amounts to an anarchist manifesto, for a revolution that "*must* be made . . . as a moral imperative." At this point, Ellul makes no more sense than those whom he has criticized. All the same, his will to angry honesty often breaks through deluded and turgid verbiage. Attacking Camus' famous formula "I rebel, therefore we are" he erupts: "Agree up to that point. But can you stop there? Will you be able to wipe away the blood from the terrifying visage, the wrath that strikes out blindly, the injustice lashing out to put an end to still another injustice? 'I rebel, therefore we are'—'Whom shall we kill' is what Camus should have added. But that would not have been worthy of humanity and philosophers." We, too, agree with this. The nobility of revolution is this age's most fatal illusion; that way lies nothing but murder, ossified organization and spiritual chaos. □

RANDOM NOTES

■ JUST OUT: *Henry James the Master* is the fifth and final volume of Leon Edel's monumental biography (Lippincott, $12.95). . . . *The Ewings* is a posthumous novel by John O'Hara set in Cleveland during World War I and, according to reports, dealing explicitly with lesbianism (Random House, $6.95). From the same publisher, Russell Kirk surveys *Eliot and His Age* ($12.50). . . . *Dick Gregory's Political Primer* japes at America (Harper, $6.95). . . . *Bring Me a Unicorn* is a collection of diaries and letters from Anne Morrow Lindbergh's early years (Harcourt, $6.95). . . . Nicholas Daniloff, four years the UPI man in Moscow, surveys the Soviet space program in *The Kremlin and the Cosmos* (Knopf, $6.95). . . . Lors Montagu of Beaulieu makes the case for the peerage in *More Equal Than Others* (St. Martin's, $4.95).

Truth and Untruth: Political Deceit in America is Congressman Paul McCloskey's campaign manifesto (Simon & Schuster, $6.95; paper, $2.95). . . . Another spectacular in the Abrams big-book vein is *Michelangelo Drawings.* Text by Frederick Hartt ($20). . . . Walter Stewart finds *Trudeau in Power* hard to take—but because he isn't far enough Left (Outerbridge, $6.95). . . . Trotsky's account of the Russian uprising of *1905* is translated into English for the first time by Anya Bostock (Random House, $15; paper, $2.45). . . . Eugene Davidson's massive study of Nuremberg, *The Trial of the Germans,* due out in paperback (Collier, $3.95). . . . *Marijuana: The Second Trip* by Dr. Edward R. Bloomquist coming in a revised edition with new anti-pot data (Glencoe Press, paper, $2.95).

■ BESTSELLERS: Copies-in-print (not all sold, of course) for some of the big 1971 books at year's end: *The Last Whole Earth Catalog* edited by Stewart Brand—900,000; *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* by Dee Brown—248,000; *Wheels* by Arthur Hailey—242,000; *Honor Thy Father* by Gay Talese—225,000; *Any Woman Can!* by David Reuben—200,000; *Wunnerful! Wunnerful!* by Lawrence Welk—140,000; *The Day of the Jackal* by Frederick Forsyth—136,000; *Tracy and Hepburn* by Garson Kanin—130,000; *Message from Málaga* by Helen MacInnes—130,000; *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* by B. F. Skinner—125,000; *The Drifters* by James Michener—125,000; *Our Gang* by Philip Roth—115,000; *Theirs Was the Kingdom* by R. F. Delderfield—75,000; *Jennie: Vol. II* by Ralph G. Martin—75,000; *Bear Island* by Alistair MacLean—70,000; *Without Marx or Jesus* by Jean-François Revel—62,000.

■ FILMS: New John Wayne is *The Cowboys.* . . . *Portnoy's Complaint* will star Richard Benjamin. . . . James Dickey is doing the screenplay for his own best-seller, *Deliverance.* Jon Voight and Burt Reynolds co-star. . . . William Peter Blatty will also do his own adaptation of *The Exorcist.* . . . Paul Newman and Robert Redford to appear in *Portrait of an Honest Cop,* based on the Frank Serpico-David Durk charges of Gotham police corruption.

■ TV: Relief is near. Al Capp has started filming a year-long series of ninety-minute talk shows.

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SCIENCE FICTION

Two Planets
By Kurd Lasswitz
Abridged by Erich Lasswitz
Translated by Hans Rudnick
Afterword by Mark Hillegas
Southern Illinois University Press, 412 pp., $10

Mars, We Love You
Edited by Jane Hipolito and Willis E. McNelly
Introduction by Isaac Asimov
Doubleday, 332 pp., $6.95

The Lathe of Heaven
Ursula K. Le Guin
Scribners, 184 pp., $4.95

OF MARS AND REALITY

THEODORE STURGEON

Kurd Lasswitz, novelist, essayist, philosopher, teacher and mathematician, was born in Breslau in 1848 and died in 1910, and I ask your patience while I commit what may seem at first to be an aphelionic aside.

One of the greatest treasures anyone could own is the Eleventh Edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. It has 28 volumes and an index. It was published in 1910. My late-model *Britannica*, published some time in the Sixties, has 23 volumes and an index. The type is larger, and it is of course much more profusely illustrated with, usually, much larger pictures. And it has in it everything one has a right to expect of a newer work than the Eleventh—a couple of world wars, fifty years of new history, and explosive expansion in technology and the arts. Yet there are fewer volumes and, I think, fewer words.

Then what were all those extra words *for*, in the Eleventh? Wasn't it a smaller and simpler world?

Of course. And therefore there was room, and time, for style as well as substance. The biography of Dr. Johnson was written by Lord Macaulay, with footnotes by later, courteous editors to pour oil on his rolling prose when it foamed on the rocks of accuracy. Philosophies were demonstrated, not merely defined, and technology—well, at a time when no one could know the future of any discovery, the Eleventh gave equal time to phenomena now discarded as useless, profitless or impractical; so the Eleventh is a motherlode of forgotten astonishments in magnetism, static electricity, chemistry and industrial technology.

WHEN THE Eleventh was born, and Kurd Lasswitz died, nothing had happened on the military scene since the Boer War, and that was a hell of a hike from anywhere. When he wrote *Two Planets*, thirteen years earlier, the world had settled nicely from the convulsions of the American Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, the War between the States, Metternich and all that. While *Two Planets* was gaining a rapt readership in Germany, H. G. Wells' *War of the Worlds* was running serially in England. There was time to write and to read and to wonder, and it was not uncool to be amazed. This quality is to be found throughout all the laminations of the literature of the time.

Reality—that is, realism—had little to do with it, and those who indulged in it (one thinks of Twain and Kipling) were regarded at best as amusing and at worst, vulgar. What did have a lot to do with the literature was hope, and it manifested itself as a "we should be better than we are" kind of statement, with the inspirational high note: "We can be." To us, the way it showed itself is quaint and simplistic: teach morals to the masses, and the rest of us will be free to act like gentlemen.

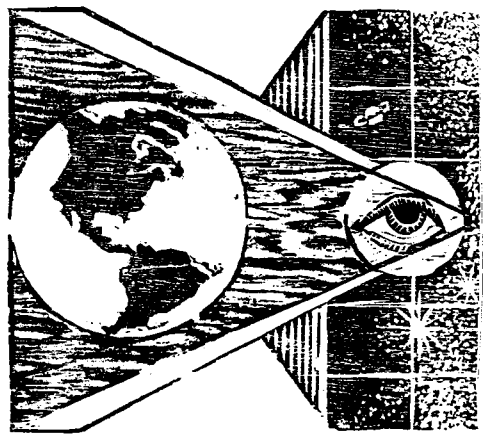
Whence the utopias, in dozen lots; and Kurd Lasswitz was no exception. The Martians are vastly advanced, superb and beautiful, *and they have good manners*. They have achieved their utopia on a Schiaparelli/Lowell canalized Mars. Good food and housing have enabled the population, in their loose federation of autonomous states, to think of better things, and they have, and they do. They come to Earth, and at first seem content to do the guru number. But men are gross and recalcitrant, and when the British navy takes on their spacecraft (and gets clobbered) Mars sighs and takes over. Inevitably, power corrupts, and it behooves Earth to get it all back again. You'll never guess who accomplishes this.

The Americans.

And (as in all of Wells' sf novels) a chastened and enlightened Earth is ready to build, of the broken pieces, its own utopia.

Two Planets went to translation in nine languages—but English was not one of them. One wonders what its influence might have been on fiction generally and sf in particular if it had been. It is interesting to note that the father of American magazine sf was Hugo Gernsback, an immigrant from Luxembourg, whose impact was in the mid-Twenties. Was he the right man at the right time, or was he late?

The novel, qua *novel*, could hardly be called a great one. It's ever so much better, however, in its advance of plot and supporting subplot, than many another whose purpose is obviously to carry freight. As an artifact of its period, however, and as the expression of a thinking man and his own coloration



of the Kantian conviction, it is as intriguing a volume as these hands have held this past decade.

And by the way: all that feed and shelter and teach bit stuck in the Nazi craw. The National Socialists called the book "democratic" and banned it.

SCHIAPARELLI AND LOWELL, and their canals, afforded imaginative literature its greatest single boon since Oberon took office. Most people know at least something of the *canali* (a word which means, and which Schiaparelli meant as, "channels," not canals at all) but few have read what they actually said. You may, in *Mars, We Love You*, a compilation of excerpts, articles, stories and poems about Mars, Martians and even commentaries about other people's writings about Mars and Martians. Beginning with a highly factual, and soundly speculative preface by Isaac Asimov, through the above-mentioned astronomers, we reach a generous total of 23 items, written by such veterans as Arthur Clarke, Damon Knight, Anthony Boucher, Lester del Rey and Robert Heinlein. The poetry is by Frank

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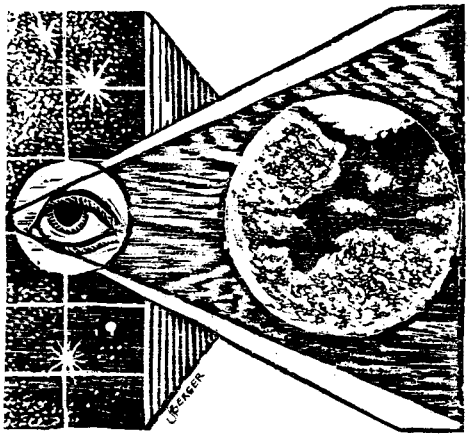
Herbert, William Fox and Irene Jackson, and is far better than the usual efforts one finds from time to time in the field. There are many different Marses (is that an acceptable plural?) here, and many kinds of Martian, and as the years go by this, as much as any book I know, may achieve the aura of quaintness and fascination which surrounds the Lasswitz.

Far out of the category of curiosa is a beautifully wrought new novel by Ursula K. Le Guin called *The Lathe of Heaven*. So well-turned is it that I cannot possibly spoil it for you by telling you what it is about: a man discovers that when he wakes from a certain kind of dream, what he has dreamt has be-



come true. He goes to a therapist who specializes in dreams and who is equipped to instigate this type of dream in the patient at will—to tell him what to dream and make him dream it. And the doctor is a megalomaniac. Right? That's quite enough to send most sf writers completely out of control, which is the one thing Mrs. Le Guin never is. So sure-handed is she that the reader must inevitably and uneasily look about him and test, for the first time, his own convictions on the true nature of reality, and begin to realize that a good many axioms are never examined because they don't bear looking at. . . . The author has done some profound research in psychology, cerebro-physiology and biochemistry, and is familiar with some very recent findings in the field of dream research. In addition, her perceptions of such matters as geopolitics, race, socialized medicine and the patient/shrink relationship are razor-sharp and more than a little cutting.

Ursula K. Le Guin has acquired quite a shelf of trophies by now. She'd better move them over and make room for another one. □

Passion & Politics: Student Activism in America
By Seymour Martin Lipset and Gerald M. Schaflander
Little Brown, 440 pp., $8.95

BRILLIANT SHAFTS NO COHERENT WHOLE

ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG

S. M. Lipset cannot really write a bad book. Not that he has not tried—and occasionally nearly succeeded. But even when he is bad he is not so bad. And when he is good he is very, very good. This one, though spotty, is better than most other books on the subject. All the relevant facts are here, described concisely and arrayed in orderly fashion. All the explanatory hypotheses and theories are here, presented lucidly and enlighteningly. Well, nearly all. My own ("Direct Action: Definition, Justifications and Explanations" in *Law and Disorder*, edited by Samuel I. Shuman) is not mentioned; nor is Charles Hamilton's, though both are regarded as "classical statements" by Professor Shuman (a friend ever since). But *Law and Disorder* was "published," or rather, printed secretly by an underground press skilled in protecting its volumes from the profane inspection of the vulgar crowd.*

There are some irksome but inessential faults to be found in *Passion & Politics*. Von Mises' description of the prewar (I) German youth movement is accurate and not at all "invidious." Rather prophetic too. Buckley does not interfere with academic freedom by urging that unqualified conservatives be hired, as Lipset implies. He wants to stop discrimination against qualified conservatives and in favor of professors and students bereft of visible qualifications other than leftism—a misuse of academic freedom. I am sure Mr. Lipset is on Buckley's side in this. But he has difficulty in relinquishing the ingrained liberal habit of stereotyping anyone who doesn't have—at least—a leftish past to regret. But these are minor defects which do not detract from the major merits of the work, its completeness, lucidity, solidity, and not least its plethora of ideas.

*Wayne State University Press (1971). I recommend it unreservedly for clandestine printing.

Yet I put it down somewhat dissatisfied. Among the many reasons for student unrest Lipset mentions the continuing educational inflation. Since World War II the college population in the U.S. has multiplied *sevenfold*. (There has been a lesser increase elsewhere.) The industry now employs seven million students and over 500,000 full-time faculty—far more than is socially or economically useful, and quite enough to frustrate the economic and status ambitions of nearly all students. Lipset nowhere elaborates wherein this monstrous government-abetted inflation helps explain "student activism"—even though I suspect that he would readily grant it to be the decisive development, if one cornered him.

As does every educator Lipset knows that far more professors have been hired to teach and do research than are competent to do either. And that many more students have been enticed to attend—if not study—than can benefit vocationally, intellectually, or in any way I can think of. Dimly aware of this and incapable of maintaining their self-esteem through academic performance, or by any intellectual means, the students find in "activism" a welcome way of expressing their resentment against the society which lured them to college and against the university which attempts to inflict education on them. Doomed as these attempts are, they also produce an irksome feeling of inadequacy. The students react. "None of this irrelevant stuff which bores us," they say and flock to do sociology instead. Abetted by their instructors they commit rather than study it, and raise their self-esteem, as well as the roof. The faculty—the customer is always right—tries to protect their right to sit in after, as well as during, class.

To be sure this is too simple an explanation. Many other things play a role, and add to, or modify, the dynamics suggested. The academically capable leaders of the original activism must be explained.* But I am not trying to offer an alternative theory to Professor Lipset's here, but to point out that he assembles the data and ideas and hypotheses needed, and many useful historical sidelights, without ever drawing them together into a coherent theory of his own.

Nor is this atypical. It raises a question. Why does an academic so learned

*I tried—*op. cit.*

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IL Y AVAIT UNE FOIS, about a dozen years ago, we had what we thought was a very good idea, which was: Why not ask our own readers to help us find *new* readers. Heavens no! said wiser heads than ours (we were very new at this kind of thing), that's just plain asking too much of *anybody*. Oho, we answered, but our readers *aren't* just anybody, and we can't broadcast invitations like mass-circulation magazines and take on anyone who answers. No, the people we must look for are people very much like the readers we already have—people with similar ideas and outlook, tastes and values—the very ones, it seems logical to assume, who are much better known to *you* than to us, because they are your friends and relations and business associates, etc. And Lo these many years we have asked our readers to do us this favor: to rrriiippp out a postcard (just like the one facing this page) and use it to introduce some worthy friend to NR—give it to him with your recommendation, or use it to send an introductory gift subscription. And you have: thousands of you have done this simple but invaluable favor for us (some of you many, many times!). Without that kind of help from you, NR could never have become what indeed it has become—one of America's most influential publications. Influence someone *you* know today. As we so often say, just use the card facing this page today!

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and penetrating offer brilliant books which somehow tender the brilliance without fully organizing and utilizing it? The style certainly is not aposiopetic (unlike that of the student subjects) but the work as a whole is. Let me offer an hypothesis. Perhaps Lipset never quite overcame his early emotional fixation on leftist symbols. Yet he is exceedingly intelligent and became perceptive. The resulting cognitive dissonance accounts for the omission of a full-fledged theory of his own in much of his work. For such a theory would require transcending the conflict and this Lipset has not yet proved able to do. I find it hard to explain otherwise why, being so good, Lipset is not better.

PART TWO of *Passion & Politics* is written independently by Gerald M. Schaflander. Mr. Schaflander teaches sociology and is a paradigm of what I think educational inflation is leading to. Although he tries hard to explain it I can see nothing to justify his commitment (in his own or any other sense). His essay consists of woolly fantasies and pointless anecdotes—barren of amusement and instruction, without sufficient merit for reviewing. Mr. Schaflander's heart is probably in the right place. But that is of more interest to a cardiologist than to a sociologist. The introduction explains how the two parts of the book came to be bound together, but it cannot justify what it explains. □

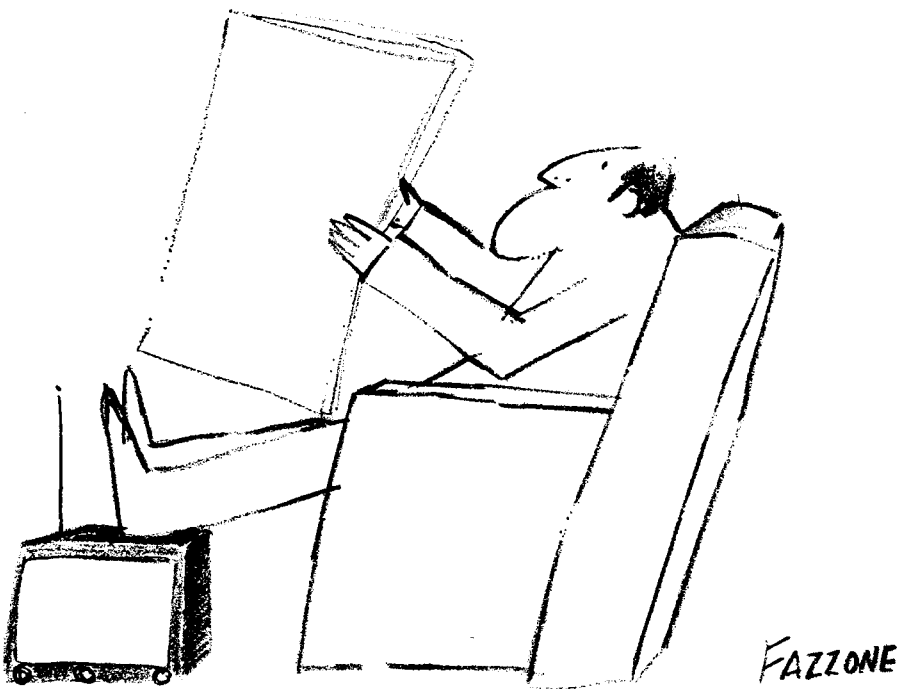
The Jewish Writer in America: Assimilation and the Crisis of Identity
By Allen Guttmann
Oxford, 227 pp., $7.95

'THAT INCREDIBLE UNANIMAL MANKIND'

MAX GELTMAN

A half-dozen years ago, in these columns, reviewing Irving Malin's *Jews and Americans*, I quoted from his introduction that "Jewishness has become an eminently marketable commodity." It still is. Look at *Fiddler on the Roof* and *The Joys of Yiddish*—and Philip Roth.

Today you can market this "commodity" with a cut-rate Tevya (he now has three daughters to betroth instead of seven); you can cash in big on the marked-down joys of the dying language



of a murdered people; and, best of all, you can become fabulously rich selling self-abuse to a public not yet sufficiently saturated with contempt for its past, its present and, perhaps, its future. But, as Alexander Portnoy's mother told me, "*Zoll er dos gelt oiskrenken*—all the way to the bank!"

Professor Guttmann of Amherst will not get rich with this work, but for a gentleman of the academy it is enough. After all, what the author has done is to posit a "crisis of identity," but has failed to identify the crisis. Much of the book is (to me) a padded version of a short and sprightly essay written some ten years ago by Marie Syrkin, titled "Jewish Awareness in American Literature." It is all here—all the Jewish writers are evaluated by Guttmann (give or take a few) from Emma Lazarus to Saul Bellow. Yet, for a moment, it would seem that Mr. Guttmann has come upon something which, if explored in greater depth, might have added considerable luster to his book. Aware that his theme is eluding him, he quotes Cynthia Ozick (whose novel *Trust*, by the way, is a modern masterpiece) to the effect that "If we blow into the narrow end of the *shofar* [ceremonial ram's horn] we will be heard far. But if we choose to be Mankind rather than Jewish and blow into the wider part, we will not be heard at all."

Miss Syrkin had already said it differently, and Yeats had said it best, perhaps, when he made the determination "To write for my own race/And for reality." As did Joyce-Dedalus when he set out in search of *his* identity—away from his homeland—"to forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of my race."

These are not rhetorical flourishes. Neither Yeats nor Joyce is willing to confine his art to an abstract Mankind. They seek the universal through the particular—something our Jewish-American writers have not yet learned. It is for this reason (perhaps) that the most full-bodied character in modern English fiction is Joyce's Leopold Bloom, an achievement none of the authors treated by Mr. Guttmann has so far been able to match. Nor has any of them equaled Proust who, by definition, should be called a Franco-Jewish writer, though anyone daring to do so would be laughed out of the academy. Yet he fulfills the hyphenated requirement: *A la recherche du temps perdu*, by a French-Jewish author, has at least one major character who is Jewish. Similarly with Gertrude Stein, who somehow eludes all the compilers of tracts on Jewish writers in America. Yet her major work, *The Making of Americans*—if size and content are any criteria—fulfills the requirement to a dot.

BUT PROFESSOR Guttmann is in search of a different theme from the one contained in his subtitle. He is concerned with the problem of the Jewish thrust toward assimilation out of the faith. Be it said for the author that he sees the problem in its many complexities, and he is not unaware of the fact that a conversion to the secular faith of Communism is the

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most unredeemable of all conversions. Professor Guttmann, at least, thinks big, even if he is not always successful with his themes. The problem of assimilation and *The End of the Jews?* (the title of a recent book by the French author Georges Friedmann), which intrigues our author, pose the greatest difficulties for him.

His positive assertions about the "conversion" from Judaism of Torquemada and Saint Teresa (which St. Teresa?) can be dismissed as so much folklore. But his misapprehension of *Halakah* (the Law) in a heavy-freighted footnote, and the fact that he does not know a *Zaydeh* (grandfather) from a *Bubbe* is the kind of egregious error few will notice, much less comment on. But so avid is Guttmann in pursuit of his assimilationist theme that he pours the famous Gratz family of Philadelphia down the assimilationist drain. He might, at least, have spared the gentle Rebecca Gratz, she who made the family "famous," and who served as prototype for Scott's heroine in *Ivanhoe*. (Scott learned all about Rebecca from a mutual friend, Washington Irving.) In the last will and testament of Rebecca Gratz, made public in 1870, by her niece, we learn that she died in the faith of her fathers and "the religion of my fathers." Perhaps Mr. Guttmann did not know this.

What he does know, however, he knows well. For instance, he devotes an entire chapter of his book to Saul Bellow, who deserves it because he is probably the finest writer of fiction in America today. Perhaps that is too strong a statement. But he is certainly "among" our finest writers, although to put him in tandem with Mailer and Roth as "among our finest writers" is to do disservice to Bellow *and* Mailer. Roth? He is merely the highest paid typist in the world—and the dirtiest. Absolutely deracinated, he is neither a Jewish writer nor an American-Jewish writer; he is, in fact, no writer at all. □

Gerhart Niemeyer *is Professor of Government at Notre Dame and author of* Between Nothingness and Paradise. . . . **Theodore Sturgeon** *won last year both the Nebula and Hugo science-fiction awards for his novelette* Slow Sculpture. . . . **Ernest van den Haag** *teaches at the New School and New York University.* . . . **Max Geltman** *is the author of* The Confrontation *and* God Help Israel.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

NAPOLEON III AND MEXICO: *American Triumph over Monarchy, by Alfred Jackson Hanna and Kathryn Abbey Hanna (University of North Carolina Press, 350 pp., illus., $11.25).* In the March 23, 1971 issue of NATIONAL REVIEW this writer discussed at some length Mexico's imperial episode —the brief and tragi-comic reign of Maximilian and Carlotta, imposed by French bayonets. The occasion was the publication of *The Cactus Throne*, a popular biography of the doomed couple. Now, for those whose interest in the subject extends beyond the casual, the University of North Carolina Press has brought out an excellent detailed and learned examination of the French intervention, a diplomatic, political and military history of one of the more curious episodes in inter-American history. The book is the result of decades of research by the Hannas, a scholarly husband-and-wife team whose past efforts have earned, among other things, decoration by the French government. While one may question the excessive emphasis on "monarchy *v.* democracy" that is one of this volume's main themes (it was really more of a simple clash of national interests, independent of political philosophies), one cannot fault the wealth of research that went into it, and the resultant documentary detail, brought together for perhaps the first time. Many readers may not have realized the intense diplomatic struggle that United States diplomats waged throughout Latin America during the Civil War to withhold the recognition of our "sister republics to the South" from the Imperial Mexican Government—a struggle that was often crude and bullying, but uniformly successful. Before the Civil War ended and we brought military pressures to bear, we had already surrounded Maximilian and his sagging regime with a diplomatic *cordon sanitaire*. Earlier on, it is interesting to note that Juarez, who usually posed as the nationalist heroic embodiment, was sometimes more interested in achieving personal power than respecting national sovereignty. In 1858, Juarez, in return for the promise of $4 million needed to oust his political opponents, agreed to the McLane-Ocampo Treaty, a document that surrendered territory, free ports and "general power of police protection" to the United States. Ironically, it was not Mexicans, but the United States Senate, that turned down the offer. One wonders how they explain *that* in Mexican textbooks!

A. BAKSHIAN JR.

THE LORE OF THE TRAIN, *by C. Hamilton Ellis (Grosset & Dunlap, 240 pp., $19.95).* This is a visually stunning, beautifully printed, amusingly written sketch of how railroad locomotives and (more or less incidentally) cars developed the world over. To my knowledge, it's the first real attempt to present to the non-technical rail buff an integrated picture of the total span of railroad development over the past century and a half. The style is breezy and anecdotal; the mechanical drawings are superb but elegantly simple. Both fit a book written for the aficionado, not the technician. There are a few startling omissions—what of the Shay, the Heisler and the Vulcan?; a few irritating errors in text or caption—the Forney is misidentified or else incorrectly drawn; and a few minor lapses in political outlook—". . . ironically it [railway technology] advanced mechanically, most admirably, where people believed in cut-throat competition, the Law of the Jungle, and all that"—but they do not seriously impair one's enjoyment of this weighty and charming volume. The price is stiff, but well worth it, just for the prints and drawings alone; and it could well become a collector's item.

K. ZIEBARTH

SAKHALIN: A HISTORY, *by John J. Stephan (Oxford, 240 pp., $12).* "I have seen Ceylon, which is paradise, and Sakhalin, which is hell," wrote Chekhov in 1895 of the huge island situated 25 miles above Japan's northernmost major province and but four and a half miles east of Russia. This island created by "Nature in a moment of wrath," as Vasilii Doroshevich moaned, was for centuries a wasteland, discovered and rediscovered by Chinese, Japanese and Russians. Bone-chilling winds, London-thick fogs, killing tides, earthquakes and forbidding coastal cliffs combined to produce a natural environment inhospitable to man. Inhabited first by the Caucasoid primitive Ainu, Sakhalin became a focus of international rivalries in the nineteenth century, each of the three great East Asian powers claiming the island, or parts of it. Under Russian suzerainty in the last quarter of the century, it became a place from which, as Military Governor Kononovich said, "everyone wants to escape—the convicts, the settlers and the officials." As University of Hawaii History Professor Stephan ably shows in his first book, Sakhalin was hideous: free women selling their children, aborigines hunting down escaped convicts, peasants killing themselves in droves to escape an impossible life, prostitution a way of life for countless women. Partitioned after the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, the then-populous Sakhalin reverted to Russia in 1945. Today it's closed to foreign visitors; even Dr. Stephan, its first objective, scholarly Western chronicler, has never been allowed in. Though Peking and, especially, Tokyo entertain recidivist notions, for the foreseeable future Sakhalin is Russia's.

D. J. C. BRUDNOY

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Arts & Manners

HAPPENINGS

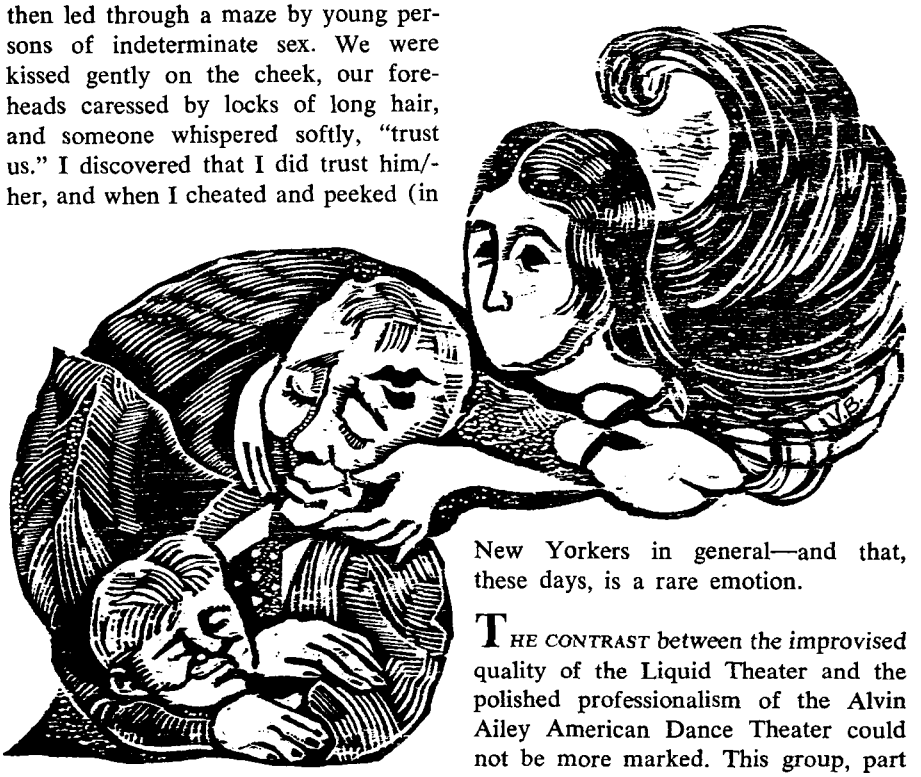
RUTH BERENSON

Lovely 'Liquid'; Masterful Mass

The very phrase "nonverbal communication" somehow turns me off; I am equally allergic to being urged to "participate in a meaningful group experience" that will "heighten my awareness" and minimalize the guilt feelings which, it is assumed, have been plaguing me. I *like* my inhibitions! Thus I approached an evening at the Liquid Theater with some diffidence. Having heard it described as part Electric Circus, part dance and part encounter group (therefore very life-enhancing), the prospect seemed a bit grim; only a steely determination to keep up with the under-thirties, whatever the cost to my dignity, got me past the entrance to the Guggenheim Museum in whose basement the group, an offshoot of the Company Theater of Los Angeles, has been holding forth nightly for the past few months.

I had a fine, if unconventional, time. The title, however, is a misnomer: The James Joyce Memorial Liquid Theater, to give it its full name, has nothing to do with the author of *Ulysses*. Neither is it liquid, unless you count a cup of herb tea given you before things get started. Nor, except for an interval of dance and pantomime presented between halves, is it theater. Aside from the director, Steven Kent, and the producers, most of the participating youngsters lack professional experience—which is probably just as well since they are not required to be anything but themselves. Their very amateurishness imparts an appealing aura of childlike innocence to the whole venture and makes it, at times, moving and even beautiful.

This mood was established at the beginning when we were asked to take off our shoes and close our eyes and were then led through a maze by young persons of indeterminate sex. We were kissed gently on the cheek, our foreheads caressed by locks of long hair, and someone whispered softly, "trust us." I discovered that I did trust him/-her, and when I cheated and peeked (in the interest of reportage), I saw that others in the group were smiling as I was. But I didn't keep my eyes open, lest I miss something. And as I was passed from one guide to another, I felt as if I were in a magic place where only nice things could happen, where I could accept a proffered morsel of food ("taste this!") knowing it would be something ineffably delicious.



Mutual trust having been established between customers and cast, emphasis was shifted to building that same confidence among us spectators. We formed circles and embraced those next to us; we looked into our partners' eyes and were told to sense their feelings; we were urged to let ourselves go limp and fall into the arms of people we had never seen before and would never see again, relying on them not to let us fall. Through it all, we were repeatedly reminded that we need do only what we felt like doing; we were not to force ourselves into trying anything that might make us feel uncomfortable, fearful, embarrassed. Well, it may not be your bag, and I would have been willing to swear that it wasn't mine either, but I loved it, as most of us seemed to. I doubt if any of us was so imbued with feelings of brotherhood as to have voluntarily embraced our fellow-occupants in the subway during rush-hour the next day—but that evening, at any rate, we *liked* people in general; we even liked New Yorkers in general—and that, these days, is a rare emotion.

THE CONTRAST between the improvised quality of the Liquid Theater and the polished professionalism of the Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater could not be more marked. This group, part black, part white, trained to move in a gamut of techniques ranging from classical ballet to Martha Graham to Pop, is imbued with a kinesthetic discipline and drive unequaled among American dance groups. The founder, Alvin Ailey, is a creative figure of international stature; he has composed for the Joffrey Ballet, the now-disbanded Harkness Ballet, the American Ballet Theater (for which he did "The River," to music by Duke Ellington), as well as his own company.

This fall, Ailey's choreography for Leonard Bernstein's "Mass" (with which the Kennedy Center was inaugurated) was the only aspect of that much pub-

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licized work not to be panned by the critics—but now, with "Mary Lou's Mass," he has produced a truly religious composition of major importance. Though written in the jazz idiom which the composer, the veteran jazz musician Mary Lou Williams, prefers, this Mass (subtitled "Dances of Praise"), unlike Bernstein's, adheres strictly to the traditional liturgy of the Catholic Church, to which Miss Williams is a convert. The music is provided by a small band (piano, guitar, French horn, conga, reeds and drums) and chorus directed by Miss Williams, who also plays the piano solos.

Though some sections seem directly related to Negro spirituals (especially the part called "Scripture Reading," recounting the story of Lazarus), the whole is yet thoroughly modern, at times dissonant, at times melodic. Mr. Ailey's dances perfectly express the musical contours and the spirit of reverent ecstasy which animate the work. Judith Jamison, his première danseuse and surely one of the greatest ballerinas of our time, has never moved more triumphantly than in her rendering of the Lord's Prayer; Dudley Williams' interpretation of the Agnus Dei is full of anguish and tenderness. It is significant, too, that while composed by black artists, this Mass seems deliberately to avoid racial references except (as in the Lazarus section) where appropriate; it is a work for everyone, in all seasons. □

FILM

DONALD PHELPS

Dr. Rhythm

It was Manny Farber, some twenty years ago, who informed me that Otis Ferguson was one of the best American film critics he knew of. The volatile brilliance of Farber's own film criticism, which I had been discovering in the *Nation* and back issues of the *New Republic*, was stage center in my attention at the time; I had read some of Ferguson, but my impressions of his writing were very vague: He was primarily the man Farber had replaced, on the *New Republic*, when Ferguson joined the Merchant Marine in 1941, shortly to die at sea. When Farber's signal endorsement prompted me back to the Thirties and Forties *New Republics*, it shortly became clear why I had so scouted Ferguson—whose name, indeed, had melded, for me, with that of the *Herald Tribune*'s Otis L. Guernsey Jr.!—and why I had been foolish to do so. Yet, rereading Ferguson's collected film criticism today, in the first-rate anthology compiled and edited by Robert Wilson, I feel more positive than ever that Ferguson, a stylist of authentic distinction, and undeniable influence on both Farber and James Agee, does not rank with either of them in critical stature; and, in fact, in certain important respects, seems hardly to have been a critic at all.

THE REASON why I sloughed off Ferguson to begin with, now seems to me to have lain in his cardinal strength as a film critic: i.e., he immersed himself in films, not only as art, but as a terrain, in a way Agee and even Farber scarcely did. An enterprise so complexly—and amorphously—collective as film, has long seemed to me almost more like another area of experience, than like an art. The creator-critic dialogue invited even by multi-departmental enterprises like the dance or theater, is often next to impossible to achieve in film, because the creative identity is so often impossible to isolate. Even critics' favorite candidate for authorship, the director, is often so hard to locate as a creative authority, that the critic falls back on inventing a kind of mythic identity for him; ascribing to the director various authorities and achievements which may not, in the films under consideration, actually be his.

Ferguson remains almost unique among the genuinely serious American writers on film, in that he conveys the sense of films not merely as a succession of works, good or bad, but as a continuing world. Manny Farber and James Agee were creators in their own right; and this fact gave them a kind of pivot, wherefrom they wrote about films as either real or potential works of art. Ferguson, although, to be sure, a jazz enthusiast who contributed occasional jazz reviews to the *New Republic*, was primarily a devotee of films, whose justification as a writer lay, for him, in appraising, yes, and evaluating, but also and cardinally in *reporting*, in describing and recreating, the events which films are. He seems to me to have come from the mainstream of sports writing epitomized by Westbrook Pegler or Jimmy Cannon or Red Smith; at his best when addressing himself, not to the notion of an artistic object, but to a process of grace, directed by experience, attuned to present occasions. About Frank Lloyd's *Mutiny on the Bounty*:

> The details are right from start to finish, even the Turks' heads worked on the stanchions, the thin bos'n's pipes and chanteys. But all this life and commotion is principally a background: in the center of it is the camera's picture of the whole ship, looking up from the water's edge as she passes, swinging slowly from her foot up over rigging and away, so that there is a great circular motion to the whole as the music blares up in bands and chanteys and complaining gear, so that you sit in a crowded theater and feel His Majesty's armed ship *Bounty* grow and gather herself in a great circle over the horizon.

Observation, know-how (here, Ferguson the Massachusetts man's lifelong absorption with ships, and the sea) and grace, in plastic coordination. Yet, never overstepping or distorting his role as spectator. Here, too, is a choice example of Ferguson's style, and a suggestion of why—much as is Manny Farber's writing—it is so very recalcitrant at giving up significant excerpts. Ferguson's style, his thought, are as interwoven with the precise actuality of what he writes about as Farber's; and—lacking Farber's taste for sardonically extravagant metaphor—he made prose rhythm his unique instrument of account and evaluation. An Auden or MacDonald may prefer Agee's writing to the films he writes about; such preference is impossible with Ferguson.

What I missed initially in Ferguson's writing, I now realize, was the brilliant rhetorical mosaic of Agee's and Farber's writing: the audacious imagery, the metaphysical swoopings. I simply failed to notice, much less understand, the excellence of Ferguson's own writing; the translucent briskness which had its tradition in the sports writing I have mentioned; as well as in the work of

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Ruth Berenson *will comment on the decline and fall of folk art in an early issue. . . .* **Donald Phelps** *is a free-lance critic of culture, popular and otherwise, especially movies and the funnies. He edits and publishes the magazine* For Now.

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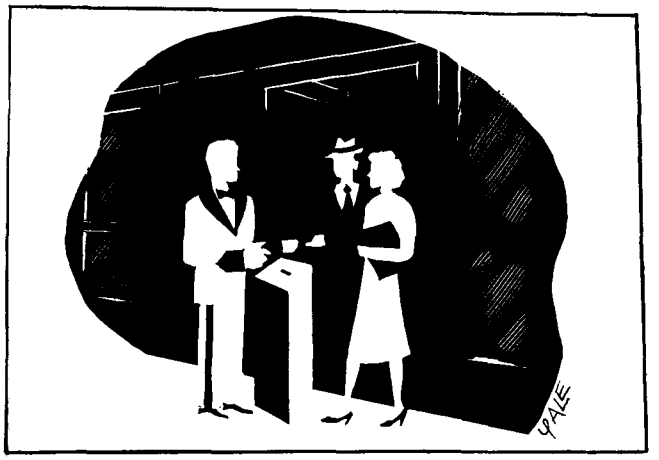
that writing's Grand Seigneurs, Hemingway and Lardner. His surest criterion was always that of craftsmanship: keeping ahead of contingencies, making the very best possible of a given situation; not, like the artist, recasting experience, creating new situations. Yet, as a man of astuteness and integrity, he was able, at times, to divine not only the morality of his craftsmanly standard, but the moral issues which such a standard might, at times, illuminate. His comment on George Stevens' *Gunga Din* dead-eyes that 1939 film, and, by implication, the campier followers which it has acquired in the last 33 years, beyond cavil or appeal. And the tough limberness of his prose, that effortlessly precise colloquial voice which recalls Lardner again and again, enables Ferguson, like Lardner, to bring the pace and inflections of *oral* description to his writing: We seem to hear, rather than read, his accounts of films; thus receiving a much more accurate sense of film as process, than when the criticism is carved like Sunday chicken into analyses of its art, its sociology etc. He is an often self-declared admirer of strong narrative continuity in films; and while this admiration plays him false more than a few times, he can, at best, incorporate that narrative fluency into his own critiques, for maximum accuracy of summation (e.g., his description of the Marx Brothers' overpopulated stateroom in *A Night at the Opera*: a description which, triumphantly funny in itself, never blunders by one-upping its subject).



WHY SHOULD not such a spectrum of journalistic talents produce a body of criticism equal if not superior to that of Ferguson's illustrious successors—men whose work, with all its important variations, reflects Ferguson's command of expositional prose, his tough-urbane humor, his slangy grace? Yet, for me, his work ultimately falls short of what I feel its achievement might well have been; and to say why, I must trundle out of the attic, from among bridge lamps and Venus clocks, that disgraced word, which will embarrass if not appall a fair portion of my readers: Taste.

For taste, as Ferguson's writing indirectly illustrates, is, in its genuine sense, anything but the Emily Post-ish—or, God save us, elitist—excrescence which our hip relativists would have us believe it is. In Ferguson's case, what I repeatedly and depressingly feel is not so much bad taste, as a vacuity of taste: a hollowness that neither his integrity nor his skill can entirely replenish.

It is not simply a question of the howlers among his judgments, especially his enthusiasms—a score which, I happen to think, far overshoots his credit, rationalize though we may that a critic's right or wrong judgments need not shadow his character as a critic. Yet, it is not merely that he cites Wyler's malted-milk *Wuthering Heights* as "among the best pictures made anywhere . . . a very intricate and wonderful art. . . ." (Here and I don't know how many other times, I have marked the paradox that Ferguson, a champion of narrative values in films, often seems oblivious or largely indifferent to the dilution or distortion of a book's narrative values in its screen adaptation); or that the truly stupefying combo of Pearl Buck, Paul Muni, Luise Rainer and Sidney Franklin, produced, for Ferguson, in *The Good Earth*, "among the grandest things done in picturization"; or, that Charles Laughton's mushy caricature of Captain Bligh—a worthy candidate for all those night-club impersonations!—becomes "a foundation that stays solid even under the most towering passions . . . [Laughton] has never played a role of such devious subtleties and frank power and neither has anybody else in the movies"; or, that any appearance of Ginger Rogers, on through *Kitty Foyle*, is cue for the Ecstasy Tango. Indeed, the most alarming aspect of these sometimes flabbergasting opinions is that nowhere do Ferguson's craftsmanlike perception, his astuteness, totally desert him; even as he wildly mispraises Paul Muni's somnambulistic charade of a Chinese peasant, he can tell us exactly what is wrong with Muni's characterization, and even give us some true impression of Muni's strengths as an actor. And even at his most haywire, he can sometimes give so sympathetic a perspective of opulent kitsch, that I almost—almost, that is—could bear to watch *Captains Courageous* a second time.

But Ferguson's deficiency as a critic was, I think, a deficiency of that experience of which taste is a projection: the crowning irony for this venerator of know-how, who set experience at such a premium. His inability to see what was falsely vulgar, let alone heavy and dull, about so many of these films and actors reflects not simply a fatal partiality for tacky make-believe, but a repeatedly felt lack of that core, that solid microcosmos, which one feels in the best of Agee and of Farber. These men, as I have said, were and are creators in their own right; meaning that each enclosed his own world, his sphere. Fergusan's major world seems to have been, movies; and this is what informs against him. Thus, while he can discern and calibrate the faults and strengths of a Frederic March, or even Chaplin, more clear-sightedly and unassumingly than most, he never asks—never seems concerned with—the identities which set the pattern of such strengths and faults. Such blindness to identity might be called his definitive weakness.

Yet, with his lithe, jaunty, jealously deployed skill, Ferguson scored some extraordinary accomplishments; notably, a first-rate vest-pocket chronicle of American comedy with a running commentary on W. C. Fields that ought to be mimeographed and circulated through the air-conditioning at the next Elgin Theater Fields Festival. Mr. Wilson's superb editing—a backhand slap to the botches of the Agee anthology, a rebuke to the rather over-selective Farber collection—lets us all know how far and how high Ferguson's real accomplishment ran, and exactly how much we owe him. □

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WITONSKI

(Continued from page 95)

penditure, but only occasionally a device for redistributing income. Some favor the gradual abolition of the progressive income tax. All oppose the present punitive rate of progression; some would replace it with a "flat rate" tax on income above personal exemption, automatically raised for price level changes. Gordon Tullock favors the value-added tax and the elimination of corporate income taxation.

All our contributors favor free trade, although several (most notably Friedman) maintain that we should make an exception for a country "with which we are at war, or whose openly declared policy is to bury us."

Our contributors waxed most eloquent on the subject of the proper role of government in our highly industrialized society. The more sociologically and philosophically inclined Austrians have contributed greatly to our understanding of this problem. Indeed, Mises' study of *The Omnipotent State* has led more than one student of political economy away from social-democratically oriented liberalism toward a conservative position. With this in mind, it was not surprising that Israel Kirzner should devote most of his reply to our survey to this particular problem, which he approaches with the rigor and style of Mises. He is profoundly suspicious of the government's expanding role in our society. Laws instituted to promote certain goals all too often tend to achieve results that conflict with the original goals. He cites as an example minimum wage laws, which are supposed to help the very poor, but which actually hurt them by pricing them out of the job market.

Freedom Is the End

Henry Hazlitt, who dealt with this problem at some length in *The Foundations of Morality*, takes the position that the government's fundamental job is to provide internal security, order and justice. Hazlitt is careful to make distinctions between the roles of federal, state and local governments. So far as the Federal Government is concerned, Hazlitt prefers that it avoid taking on more responsibilities and functions, in the interest of efficiency as well as liberty.

The views of most of our contributors are well summed up by Yale Brozen, who lists government's functions as: 1) the maintenance of the widest possible diffusion of power (prevent the use of private armies, etc.); 2) the defense of liberty, by stepping in when one man's freedom violates another man's through compulsion or coercion (implicit in this is public and national defense, for example, police forces and armed forces); 3) the provision of such things as a stable currency, free contract, etc.

Although there are certain fundamental differences among conservative economists, we did not find as many as we thought we would when we began our survey. Whatever their differences, like the great libertarians who preceded them, contemporary conservative economists are primarily interested in preserving freedom, not as an end in itself, but, in Milton Friedman's eloquent phrase, as "the indispensable means for attaining all other ends." Our contributors reject the nostrums of the Glendowers of this world, for they know, from recent historical experience, that the result of those nostrums is an augmenting of the state's power and a corresponding loss of individual freedom. □

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GOMEZ

(Continued from page 100)

ready with resplendent smile, an aura of sincerity, an easy spontaneity that attracts men. In Argentina, a country that desires elective government, 80 per cent of the people were enraptured by Allende. Over the Andes in Colombia, Allende called for a revolutionary legal system which "we will confirm by consulting the people." How many caught the irony when Allende said he came "not as representative of one political party but as President of all Chileans," contradicting his many announcements in his own country that he is President of *some* Chileans?

At home, however, discontent and weariness have begun to show in the words of independent and leftist intellectuals and technicians. "I cannot stand one more slogan . . ." said a young writer. "If I listen to another cliché or see another openly Marxist Chilean film . . . I will rush to support Pablo Rodriguez" (the young and most extreme right-wing hero, leader of the movement called *Patria y Liberdad*). Most revealing are the words of several supposedly loyal socialists: "Allende was the perfect candidate. . . . He is not a good president." Or those of a right-wing congressman: "Allende hit the bottom. . . . Only a coup d'état from within the Unidad Popular could save his government, an error which the Communists will certainly avoid. The new economic laws? The CP begs us to oppose them, knowing that if Allende goes too fast he may fall and bring the CP down with him. But should we? The sooner the government drowns itself in its own mistakes the sooner it will be feasible to start tidying up the mess."

The Chilean Way may actually become the vehicle to weaken or corrupt Communism in Chile. Communism, there as elsewhere, exacts rigor, discipline, privation, austerity and full dedication, characteristics hardly attractive to an individualistic people who have had excellent social laws for decades and who are accustomed to tolerating varying slogans—in particular those that don't require hard work. □

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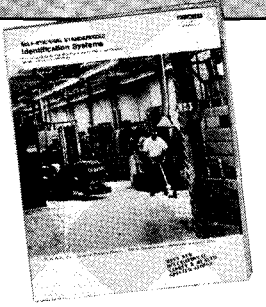

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LETTERS

(Continued from page 79)

tient he's only tickling him. As Gavin's Catholic absolutes weren't built into my origins, I found my own ways to distinguish absolutes of good and evil: My best friends include conservatives, liberals, youngsters, oldsters, blacks and whites; my worst enemies are conservatives, liberals, youngsters, oldsters, blacks and whites who are pretentious, callous, narrow or two-faced. Gavin's article helped me define the differences still further. Besides, the piece was fun to read.

New York, N.Y. WILLIS CONOVER

William Gavin should have added one more type of conservative to his list: *The Conservative as Catholic Sentimentalist.* Mr. Gavin is obviously this type.

New York, N.Y. JOHN P. MCGRAW

Corrections

The historian of science referred to by Michael Gazzaniga in his review of *Science in History* ["Books," Dec. 17] is Thomas, not Richard, Kuhn. His seminal work is *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions.*

Princeton, N.J. TAZ DAUGHTREY

In his review of the book, *Newspaper Story, One Hundred Years of the Boston Globe* ["Books in Brief," Dec. 31], David Brudnoy says: "The *Globe* became one of America's great liberal dailies, along the way giving brilliant coverage to such incidents as the case of Lizzie Borden (who 'took an axe, gave her mother forty whacks . . .')." Despite the *Globe*'s coverage of the incident, the facts are that Lizzie Borden was *acquitted* of these crimes. In the face of a frenzied press against her, after the presentation of a flimsy state's case, she was promptly declared innocent and freed.

Of course, through the years, the opposite has been projected in verse, song and writing. All of which shows that the public's view of guilt or innocence in celebrated cases frequently transcends the judicial determination. There is no appeal from what people think, and it may well be that in such cases the court of last resort is the man on the street.

Perth Amboy, N.J. ALVIN B. LEBAR

I don't wish to be pedantic, but with reference to your editorial on Edward Heath and Rhodesia ["Something New Has Been Added," Dec. 17], wherein you state that Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence was "the first by a British dependency, as it happens, since 1776," *quaere*: What was it that Padraic Pearse read on the steps of the Dublin General Post Office that Easter Monday, 1916? (The legalistic argument that Ireland was then part of the United Kingdom, rather than a "British dependency," is not very persuasive.)

Chicago, Ill. THOMAS F. MAHONEY

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The Decline of the ACLU

On The Right

New York, Jan. 4—There are arguments for granting amnesty to American deserters and draft-dodgers, but I for one do not desire to hear them from the lips of the American Civil Liberties Union. Which, needless to say, has appointed itself coordinator of the campaign for amnesty, notwithstanding that whether to grant amnesty to deserters is as unrelated to the business of a civil liberties union, as to the Sierra Club.

What we have is another in the tedious list of activities by the American Civil Liberties Union which betray its present orientation. It has become a left-wing pressure group, whose concern for civil liberties is limited to the activities of its ideological friends, who are loosely defined as those who desire to destroy by any means American society as we recognize it.

A year ago, I requested aid from the ACLU in questioning the constitutionality of a labor union's requiring me (and others) to join it, before we are permitted to go before a television camera or radio microphone to express our views. The ACLU dragged its feet on the question for months and months, and finally declined to support the case, giving reasons as synthetic as its devotion to civil liberties. That was two months ago and, being *parti pris*, I did not then denounce the ACLU, but now, with the publication in *Commentary* Magazine, principal publication of the American Jewish Committee, of the devastating exposé of "Politics & ACLU" by Professor Joseph Bishop of Yale, it is appropriate to bring it up. Indeed he does so himself: " . . . in none of the ninety-odd court cases listed in the most recent report of the Legal Director can it be said that ACLU is representing a right-wing client or cause. . . . A . . . substantial problem was presented by William F. Buckley's contention that his First Amendment rights are violated by the insistence of the American Federation of Radio and Television Artists that he must pay dues to the Federation in order to conduct his TV program. If Mr. Buckley's purpose in asking ACLU's help in his suit was to embarrass it, he plainly succeeded, for the national board took nearly a year to make up its mind to turn down his request."

Mr. Bishop's examination of the ACLU's statements and behavior puts an end to the organization's pretensions. He gives example after example of the organization's extremism in pursuit of the liberties of anyone to move against the state and its laws.

For instance, Mr. Bishop cites the arguments of the Union in behalf of the *New York Times* on the issue of the publication of the Pentagon Papers. ". . . the most that ACLU's brief in the Supreme Court conceded, and that grudgingly, was that the government 'could conceivably' prevent publication of secret codes, designs of new military equipment, and plans for military operations—but not if their publication would be 'of value in permitting citizens to render an informed judgment on public issues.'

"This criterion," comments Professor Bishop, "has a fine ring, but it would have permitted publication of the Allies' plans for the invasion of June 6, 1944 or Israel's plans for the air strike of June 5, 1967. Knowledge of either of these important government decisions would doubtless have contributed to informed public discussion of many issues, but I suspect that not even Justice Black, faced with such circumstances, would really have held that publication could not be restrained."

MR. BISHOP points out that the ACLU was everywhere, during the mad season in the colleges, to defend the rights of those who attempted to deny, and in many cases succeeded in doing so, the rights of others to speak. Such protests as the Union makes reek with formalism—"an occasional letter to the newspapers expressing disapproval of some unusually outrageous disruption, such as the shouting down of prowar speakers at Harvard last March. There have been no intervention, no briefs *amici curiae*, no press releases supporting authorities who tried to prevent or punish such violence."

The ACLU, supported by contributions of thousands of innocent people who really believe that they are engaged in helping civil liberties, is everywhere, pressing any cause—like amnesty for deserters—that is beloved of the Left. It distributes free of charge encomiums to William Kunstler, who advocates criminal activity by dissenters. The sad tale is marvelously told, and reprints are available, at 50 cents, from *Commentary*, 165 East 56th Street, New York 10022. □

AMNESTY? *New York*, Jan. 12—Concerning the question of amnesty for American deserters and draft-dodgers, a few observations.

1) It is becoming a question of the good guys (let's grant amnesty) against the bad guys (let's not). That is a pity, because unless one argues that amnesty should be instantaneous for the offense of dodging the draft, then there is a case for weighing the merits of amnesty. Otherwise what you come up with, in effect, is that service in the military should be voluntary. I happen to think it should be, except in times of national crisis, but Congress has ruled otherwise, and it is Congress that makes the law.

2) Precisely because the question is insinuating itself in moral terms, posed as a debate between, say, Eleanor Roosevelt and Louise Day Hicks, there are those who suspect that the pro-amnesty people are trying to make a sneaky point. Even as a lot of people who in recent years came out for a voluntary military were in fact attempting to do anything they could to embarrass the war effort in Vietnam, so a lot of those who are nowadays heard arguing for amnesty are really saying something on the order of: let us finally admit that this was an immoral war, and that therefore the use of the draft to harness young men to an immoral enterprise was wrong. Therefore, any young man who in pursuit of his conscience evaded that draft ought not to be punished.

Those who oppose amnesty feel the vibrations of this analysis, and their opposition is based in part on their reluctance to ratify a piece of moral analysis which they do not endorse.

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History will one day tell us, however ambiguously, whether we were right to do what we did, but in an age tempted by antinomianism, the President should be careful before telling people, in effect, that they were correct in making up their minds to disobey the law.

3) The image of Abraham Lincoln is often cited as the exemplar who sought conciliation, sought, in his words, to bind the nation's wounds. Mr. Nixon is asked, in effect, to follow the example of Lincoln by granting amnesty.

The historical situation is, however, significantly different, if not conclusively so. At the time of his Second Inaugural Address, Lincoln could see the end of the war weeks away. He had previously granted a highly controversial amnesty. He asked, then, for a spirit of forgiveness with respect to a defeated enemy. The draft-dodgers are not exactly in the category of a defeated enemy. The English showed themselves, on the whole, forgiving toward the Germans and the Japanese. Lord Haw Haw, they hanged; while we locked up the world's most famous poet in a loony bin for a dozen years. As regards what we chose to call "war criminals," we promised amnesty in twenty years. But when twenty years went by, those who would not either forget or forgive, insisted on extending the term, on the grounds that there were as yet too many undiscovered Nazi war criminals.

Those Americans who deserted or who went to Canada or Scandinavia to avoid the draft are not in a class with the Nazi war criminals, but they are most definitely criminals in the eyes of the law. And the problem Mr. Nixon or his successor will face, is how on the one hand to display generosity, and on the other to uphold the sovereignty of the law. The men in question are not, as we have noted, in the category of a defeated people. On the contrary, reading about them suggests that they tend to the opinion that what is happening isn't that they are slowly coming around to realizing the full extent of their perfidy, rather that the United States is coming around to realizing that they were right, while we were wrong. There are those in this country who agree with them. If Senator McGovern is still running for President a few years from now, he will no doubt be proposing that we grant the deserters and draft-dodgers a Medal of Honor and a life pension.

4) In short, the conditions are not ripe for amnesty. We do not have contrition, in any palpable sense. We do not have the corporate sense of having achieved our purpose, permitting us therefore to be charitable toward the defeated. And we have not rediscovered the loci of stability, which among other things tell us quite clearly when we are engaged in magnanimity, and when we are engaged in historical and moral revisionism. □

MR. LEWIS' DESPAIR

New York, Jan. 8—Mr. Anthony Lewis, who writes from London for the *New York Times*, is quick to be embarrassed by his homeland, and on New Year's Day, he all but despaired of it. Why? Because for five straight days, we bombed North Vietnam.

Bombed what in North Vietnam? To read Mr. Lewis, and other critics of Mr. Nixon, you would believe that we had adjusted our bomb sensors to search out high-density peasant concentrations, and dumped over them. Listen. "The world's most technologically developed country is using all its skill in destructive techniques against a peasant population. . . . American bombing has left twenty million craters . . . the 'daisy' cutter bomb . . . has so far killed every living thing in 116,000 acres of Indochina."

That is about all you need to fuel all the anti-American orators in the world, and you can count on it that nobody is going to make the simple point that leaves Anthony Lewis paralyzed in midsophism. Namely, that we are not searching out peasants and civilians to bomb, we are searching out anti-aircraft weapons, and concentrations of war-making matériel which are poised to move down the Ho Chi Minh Trail to renew the war in South Vietnam.

Nobody is even likely to make the generic point. If the United States has dropped three times the megatonnage over North Vietnam as it dropped over the whole of Germany and Italy during the Second World War, why are there *still* Vietnamese left? Answer: Because American efforts have concentrated on military targets, and on sparing civilian targets. Question: If the United States has been engaged in genocide in Indochina, how come that in South Vietnam alone there are two million more people now than when the war began? Answer: These are not questions a gentleman will ask of a liberal.

Mr. Lewis does not stop there, oh no, the rush of that first syringe propels him into sustained anti-American euphoria. "The official view is apparently that the United States has a divine right to fly and bomb at will over the entire Indochinese peninsula without challenge by enemy aircraft or missiles. If the North Vietnamese dare to put up an air defense, we are entitled to punish them. It is a notion fitter for psychological than political analysis."

It certainly is, and I am sure that the Sellers of the Pentagon would be glad to subtract from their budget a sum necessary to stretch Mr. Lewis out on the couch.

HERE IS an historical translation of Mr. Lewis' fantasy:

1) The Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam) began an aggressive war against the Republic of South Vietnam, made possible by arms supplied by the Communist superpowers, China and Russia.

2) South Vietnam requested aid of the signatory members of the SEATO Treaty, which promised aid in such circumstances.

3) The North Vietnamese over the course of eight years have used Laotian territory to supply that war, notwithstanding that there is a treaty signed in 1962 wherein all parties agreed to respect Laotian neutrality.

4) The United States agreed to stop the bombing of North Vietnam toward the end of Lyndon Johnson's Presidency on three conditions, all three of which the North Vietnamese have defaulted on.

5) Under precepts of international law (viz., the Greco-German Mixed Arbitral Tribunal case after World War I) a nation is entitled to take measures necessary to defend itself from foreign aggression, including measures against a neutral nation if that nation is incapable of preventing the aggressor from using its territory to mount or provision its aggression.

6) Richard Nixon never by word or deed suggested that the United States, now that we are pulling our ground forces out of Southeast Asia, will deny to the South Vietnamese the facilities of our Air Force to defend themselves against a massive renewal of hostilities. The failure to bomb would have been sheer, inexplicable dereliction.

Mr. Lewis observes that we have "crippled our ability to insist that other nations give diplomacy a chance and avoid the use of force." Diplomacy convened in Paris in the spring of 1968, had a debate over the shape of the table, and has never been heard from since.

"In the India-Pakistan crisis," Mr. Lewis concludes, "we simply could not be taken seriously when we said to India in effect: 'The kind of interests we are pursuing in Vietnam justify resort to bloodshed, but yours do not.' " That's like saying, so help me, that there was no difference between Lt. John F. Kennedy, who caused bloodshed as a young man, and Lee Harvey Oswald, who also did. □

(Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.)

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Trans-O-Gram

By SVEND PETERSEN

DEFINITIONS

A. A Communist holiday — 98 87 171 152 107 118

B. Unbiased — 30 200 228 233 242 268 258 134 151 186

C. The wheatear — 50 83 143 232 234 257 224 131 240 14

D. Childish — 54 94 160 48 262 117 184 276 133

E. *Centunculus minimus* — 182 218 104 167 172 12 263 277 26

F. A native — 187 116 121 163 110 215 270 74 191 205

G. Showed eagerness to enjoy — 193 156 92 176 256 221

H. A common brown sparrow of eastern North America (followed by *sparrow*) — 212 2 9 195 42 73 86 106 130 62 136 139 189

I. Archaic term for a lady who sells marine bivalve mollusks — 11 25 38 51 59 90 32 61 82 99

J. Pumpernickel — 225 126 246 140 55 250 274 241

K. A small amount of electrical power — 259 164 192 230 75 273 17 24 198 235

L. What the Morse Code consists of — 66 45 1 60 135 79 97 109 141 157 183 209 217

M. What WORD V wrote — 77 85 123 128 149 178 227 236 208 260 170 213 244

N. Of or pertaining to certain islands in the Far East — 91 18 64 102 216 108 146 161 204 223

O. Very pale in color or hue — 56 67 71 76 5 15 35

P. Any plant of the genus *Pelargonium*; what an obstetrician might present — 120 39 165 31 206 20 275 243 185 264

Q. Forest land cleared and converted to tillage — 129 255 251 153 238 95 122

R. Titular hero of a poem by Longfellow — 138 112 237 100 247 154 249 252

S. An epithet of Zeus, meaning Earthshaker — 201 22 162 47 173 6 36 34 40 168 180

T. Of or pertaining to the pagans — 203 13 70 19 231 53 145 222 88 111

U. An assistant to a custodian — 21 28 72 93 229 239 267 272 8 16 41 114

V. The pretended writer of certain children's verses — 63 166 202 103 119 4 177 211 261 69 96

W. Not closefisted — 84 132 43 142 271 65 150 214 265 248

X. A family of elasmobranch fishes of all warm seas — 174 7 33 46 147 210 226 269 37 124 144 219

Y. An advocate, among other things, of Malthusianism — 148 78 89 196 113 179 137 57 159 190 199 207 254

Z. A white crystalline or yellowish amorphous substance — 220 115 253 101 29 158 245 127 49

a. Last three words of Stevenson's book of rhymes for children — 105 125 155 181 68 188 81 266 58 80 169 175 194 197

b. A quail (followed by *hen*) — 3 10 23 27 44 52

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, thickened vertical lines indicating the ends of words); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 117 for solution of last Trans-O-Gram.

	1 L	2 H	3 b	4 V	5 O	6 S	7 X	8 U	9 H	10 b	11 I	12 E	13 T	14 C	15 O	16 U	17 K	18 N	19 T
20 P	21 U	22 S	23 b	24 K	25 I	26 E	27 b	28 U	29 Z	30 B	31 P	32 I	33 X	34 S	35 O	36 S	37 X	38 I	39 P
40 S	41 U	42 H	43 W	44 b	45 L	46 X	47 S	48 D	49 Z	50 C	51 I	52 b	53 T	54 D	55 J	56 O	57 Y	58 a	59 I
60 L	61 I	62 H	63 V	64 N	65 W	66 L	67 O	68 a	69 V	70 T	71 O	72 U	73 H	74 F	75 K	76 O	77 M	78 Y	79 L
80 a	81 a	82 I	83 C	84 W	85 M	86 H	87 A	88 T	89 Y	90 I	91 N	92 G	93 U	94 D	95 Q	96 V	97 L	98 A	99 I
100R	101Z	102N	103V	104E	105a	106H	107A	108N	109L	110F	111T	112R	113Y	114U	115Z	116F	117D	118A	119V
120P	121F	122Q	123M	124X	125a	126J	127Z	128M	129Q	130H	131C	132W	133D	134B	135L	136H	137Y	138R	139H
140J	141L	142W	143C	144X	145T	146N	147X	148Y	149M	150W	151B	152A	153Q	154R	155a	156G	157L	158Z	159Y
160D	161N $	162S	163F	164K	165P	166V	167E	168S	169a	170M	171A	172E	173S	174X	175a	176G	177V	178M	179Y
180S	181a	182E	183L	184D	185P	186B	187F	188a	189H	190Y	191F	192K	193G	194a	195H	196Y	197a	198K	199Y
200B	201S	202Y	203T	204N	205F	206P	207Y	208M	209L	210X	211V	212H	213M	214W	215F	216N	217L	218E	219X
220Z	221G	222T	223N	224C	225J	226X	227M	228B	229U	230X	231T	232C	233B	234C	235K	236M	237R	238Q	239U
240C	241J	242B	243P	244M	245Z	246J	247R	248W	249R	250J	251Q	252R	253Z	254Y	255Q	256G	257C	258B	259K
260M	261V	262D	263E	264P	265W	266a	267U	268B	269X	270F	271W	272U	273K	274J	275P	276D	277E		

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ON THE GOLDWATER CAMPAIGN:

"In those days American conservatives, dreaming of the glorious possibility of a Goldwater victory, envisioned the scene on the Capitol steps during the Inauguration ceremony. 'Do you,' says Supreme Court Justice Earl Warren, addressing President-elect Barry Goldwater, 'solemnly swear to defend the Constitution of the United States?' Answers President Goldwater: 'I do. You're under arrest, Warren.'"

QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN BILL
The Best of Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.

Compiled by David Franke. 880 delicious quotes arranged by topic, including some 300 from unsigned National Review editorials never before attributed to Buckley.

A sampling of the topics and quotes in this bonanza (including 19 karate chops at Lindsay, 16 at LBJ, 7 at Arthur Schlesinger, 6 at Javits)...

Education
College graduates favor Nixon over Humphrey 46-39, which is the best thing anybody has recently remarked about the values of a college education. On the other hand, alumni of graduate schools favor Humphrey over Nixon 41-29, which confirms the worst suspicions we harbor about over-education.

Catholic Church
The crisis of the Catholic church is much written about. *Look* Magazine celebrates it every couple of issues, and its editors have even volunteered to rewrite the Apostles' Creed, reaching a new high in reader service.

Complaining
I profoundly believe it takes a lot of practice to become a moral slob, and that if there is anything the American people are diligently engaged in acquiring, it is that skill, that indifference to things minor which carries over to things major. We simply don't compain about little things; and so a part of our nervous system becomes inert—the part which should be tingling and on edge if we are to escape totalitarianization by those who exercise great power...Start with the little things. Don't become a grouch. But don't let them push you around. If absolutely necessary, refuse to fasten your seat belt.

Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.
The relationship between corruption and Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. would appear to be something like the relationship between typhoid and Typhoid Mary.

Mayor John Lindsay
Mr. (Charles) McWhorter is a longtime enthusiast for John Lindsay—they were young Republicans together back when the destruction of New York City was only a gleam in Lindsay's eye.

And more, *more*, MORE...

Arthur Goldberg
Jimmy Breslin
Academic Cranks
Norman Mailer
Henry Luce
Capital Punishment
Pablo Casals
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Sailing
Gore Vidal
Young Americans for Freedom
Nuclear War
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Eldridge Cleaver
The Minimum Wage
Castro
Wm. F. Buckley, Jr.
D.A.R.
Nelson Rockefeller
Dr. Spock
Jesse Unruh
Winston Churchill
Jack Newfield
Roy Cohn
The Beatles
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Village Voice
John Kenneth Galbraith
Greek Junta
SANE
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Harold Wilson
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Ombudsmen
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New York Conservative Party
Hippies
Robert S. McNamara
Welfare
Ku Klux Klan
Roy Wilkins
New York Times
Hubert Humphrey
Huntley-Brinkley
George Romney
Westbrook Pegler
Billy Graham
Charles Percy
Ralph Ginzburg
Ripon Society
Spiro Agnew
Joseph Alsop
American Civil Liberties Union
Johann Sebastian Bach
Walter Lippmann
Owen Lattimore
Eleanor Roosevelt
Adlai Stevenson
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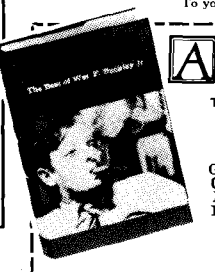

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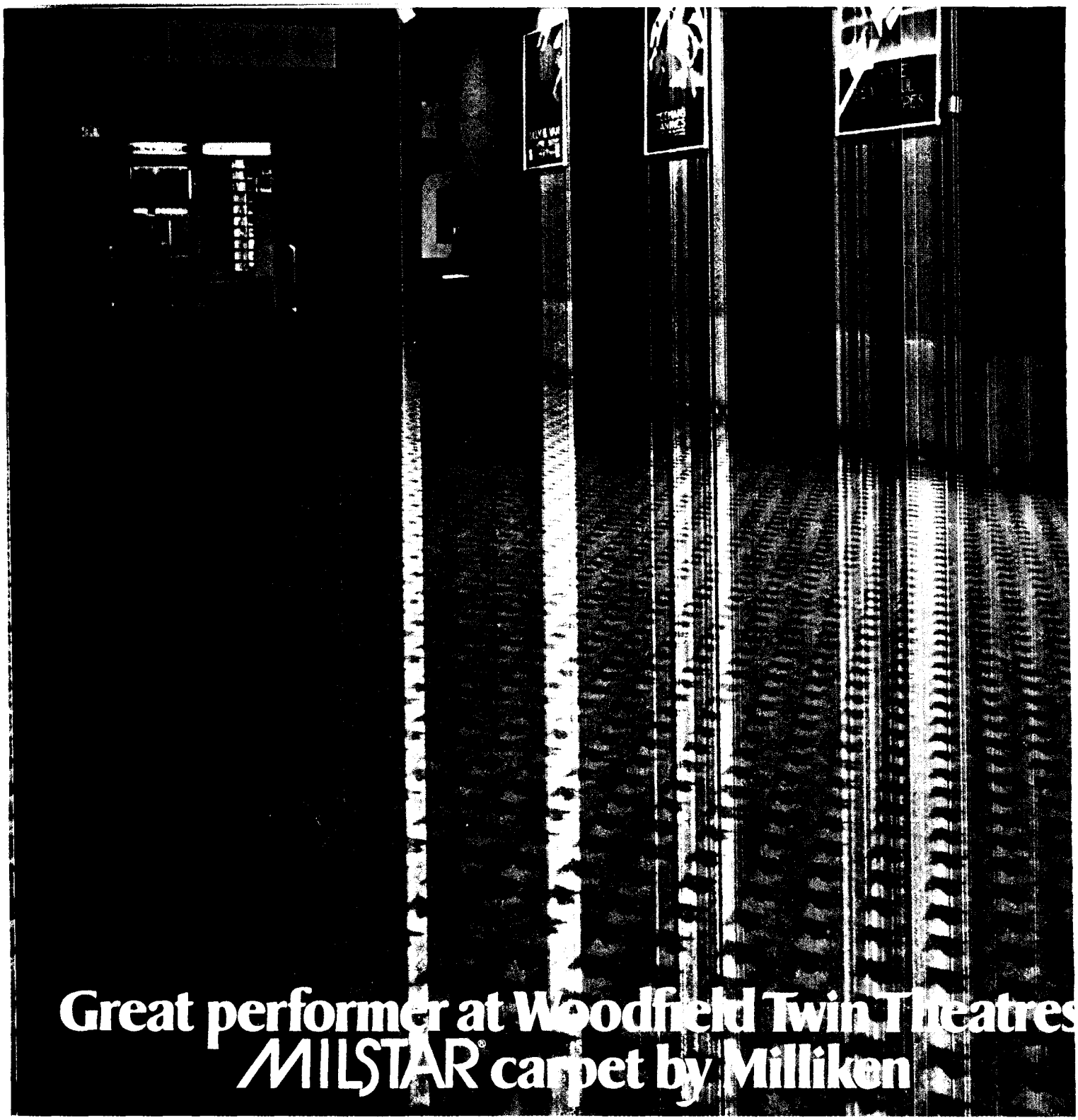

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